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The University of Mississippi Studies in English

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**‘SO UNLIKE THE NORMAL LUNATIC’:
ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY IN
BRAM STOKER’S *DRACULA***

William Hughes

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The perceived intimacy of the relationship between the lunatic Renfield and Dracula has ensured that the former has received little critical attention in his own right. Seward’s passing remark that Renfield “seems so mixed up with the Count in an indexy kind of way” has bolstered a critical approach that dismisses the lunatic merely as a projection of the Vampire’s appetite, or, at most, as his symbolic herald.¹ The currency of such views makes it equally easy to assume that Renfield’s mental condition has arisen as a consequence of his encounter with Dracula—an assumption which lifts the character out of a medical context in order to realign him with the perceived occult and symbolic scripts of the novel.²

A closer examination of *Dracula*, however, reveals that Renfield’s psychosis is already at an advanced stage some months prior to the Count’s arrival in England. Renfield is first questioned in the asylum by the alienist, Seward, on May 25. Dracula, as Harker’s Journal and the Ship’s Log of the *Demeter* confirm, leaves Transylvania on June 30 and lands in England, at Whitby, on August 7.³ The vampire, as Van Helsing informs Seward, cannot easily cross running water, and so must be judged as playing no part in the genesis or early development of Renfield’s mental disorder.⁴

Similarly, Renfield’s psychosis is *analogous*, rather than identical, to the parasitic practices of Dracula. Seward takes pains to classify his patient: “My homicidal maniac is of a peculiar kind. I shall have to invent a new classification for him, and call him a zoophagous (life-eating) maniac....”⁵

Significantly, Seward repeatedly draws attention to the manner in which Renfield ‘absorbs’ life. For example, the alienist observes:

He disgusted me much while with him, for when a horrid blow-fly, bloated with some carrion food, buzzed into the room, he caught it, held it exultingly for a few moments between his finger and thumb, and, before I knew what he was going to do, put it in his mouth and ate it. I scolded him for it, but he argued quietly that it was very good and very wholesome; that it was life, strong life, and gave life to him.⁶

It is clear, then, that Renfield is, as Seward terms him, *zoophagous*, or 'life-eating,' whereas Dracula is exclusively *zoopotous*, or 'life-drinking.' Renfield, again, disregards the spiritual value of the lives he consumes. As he explicitly states: 'I don't want any souls!'⁷ Unlike Dracula, therefore, Renfield does not seek to perpetuate his own kind, and it is significant that his only venture into blood *drinking* occurs after the arrival of the Vampire in the neighbourhood of Seward's asylum.⁸ Dracula, it appears, is able to *harness* Renfield's mental delusion, although there is no evidence as to his having *created* it. In short, Renfield's psychosis remains a medical rather than occult phenomenon for most of its duration.

It thus becomes possible to approach Renfield by way of Victorian medical discourse—to treat him in effect as a representation of a conventional mental patient, despite Seward's assertion that Renfield is, in his morbid ideas at least, 'so unlike the normal lunatic.'⁹ But Seward, equally, is subject to the same medical discourse, and to criteria which *should* construct him as a version of 'normal' sanity, as one having mental qualities distinguishable from those of his patient. This discursive intimacy between physician and patient permits in the novel a realignment of their relative or reciprocal positions, of their relationship to each other and to the 'normal.' In *Dracula*, it may be argued, the 'normal' is a quantum defined largely through its absence, signified primarily by the presence of deviations. But the boundary between symptom and treatment is by no means fixed, and their relationship may be seen to be at times more parallel than reciprocal.

No explicit information is advanced in the novel regarding Seward's customary treatment of the lunatics placed under his care at the private asylum in Purfleet. Some insight, however, may be gained from a retrospective remark which the alienist makes in his phonograph journal immediately following the initial examination of the patient. Seward recalls:

I questioned him more fully than I had ever done, with a view to making myself master of the facts of his hallucination. In my manner of doing it there was, I now see, something of cruelty. I seemed to wish to keep him to the point of his madness—a thing which I avoid with the patients as I would the mouth of hell.¹⁰

Seward is suggesting that his customary practice is one in which the patient's delusion is persistently marginalised rather than confronted. The attention of the patient is directed away from the

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psychosis, and thus also from its 'faulted' logic—'the point of his madness.' The patient is therefore forced to participate in the 'sane' world and its values rather than in those which structure the 'hallucination' or delusion.

Seward's customary clinical approach resembles the physiologically-based psychology of the British physician, W. B. Carpenter. Carpenter argued that both physical and mental activity were 'habituated' into accustomed processes and motions shaped essentially on the pattern of the exercise of the conscious mind. Carpenter states, for example, that

...the Physiological mechanism has this peculiarity,—that it forms itself according to the mode in which it is habitually exercised; and thus not only its automatic but even its unconscious action comes to be indirectly modified by the controlling power of the Will.¹¹

The 'habituation' of the unconscious 'physiological mechanism' of the brain was further developed by Carpenter into a process termed 'unconscious cerebration,' in which logical conclusions on one specific topic or question could be formulated unconsciously whilst the conscious portion of the mind was otherwise engaged upon another.¹²

Unconscious cerebration is mentioned explicitly several times in *Dracula*. Seward, for example, considers the process to be integral to his own inductive activity:

...the rudimentary idea in my mind is growing. It will be a whole idea soon, and then, oh, unconscious cerebration! you will have to give the wall to your conscious brother.¹³

But Seward also applies the term to his patient when he recalls one of Renfield's insane fits. In an initial visit the alienist raises the question of the souls of the creatures consumed by the lunatic. He returns to Renfield's cell:

When I came in he said at once, as though the question had been waiting on his lips:—
'What about souls?' It was evident then that my surmise had been correct. Unconscious cerebration was doing its work, even with the lunatic.¹⁴

Despite the coda to Seward's concluding sentence, this is, in Carpenter's model, not an unusual situation. Carpenter asserts:

I feel convinced that, in the habitually well-disciplined nature, this unconscious operation of the Brain, in balancing for itself all these considerations, in putting all in order (so to speak), and in working out the result, is far more likely to lead us to good and true decision, than continual discussion and argumentation.¹⁵

Conversely, the argument follows that an insane nature will produce results compatible only with its psychotic state—logical within the rubric of its own delusion, though seriously out of step with the world beyond.¹⁶ As Seward later phrases it: How well the man reasoned; lunatics always do within their own scope (Stoker, 1897, 71).

The physiological and psychological mechanism by which these results are produced is, however, arguably the same in both cases.

Carpenter perceives the alienist's rôle in such clinical situations as fundamentally one of surrogate Will to the irresponsible patient:

For there can be no doubt that while the tendency to brood upon a particular class of ideas and on the feelings connected with them, gives them, if this tendency be habitually yielded to, an increasing dominance,—so that they at last take full possession of the mind, overmaster the Will, and consequently direct the conduct,—there is a stage in which the Will has a great power of preserving the right balance, by steadily resisting the 'brooding' tendency, calling-off the attention from the contemplation of ideas which ought not to be entertained, and directing it into some entirely different channel (Carpenter 671).

The patient is thus 'habituated back' into culturally permissible or vigorous mental practices, which in turn lead to acceptable conclusions or results. The patient may thus, theoretically, be cured of his delusion, provided the alienist persists with the treatment.

Seward, of course, does not continue the therapy. As surrogate Will to his patient, Seward is at best absent or distracted: he is never disinterested. Utilising the same medical logic that supports his therapeutic practice, Seward progressively takes steps to facilitate rather than retard the progress of Renfield's psychosis. The alienist forces the lunatic's attention directly onto the locus of the delusion, initially

through encouraging the patient to accumulate material closely associated with its gratification. Seward recalls:

5 June.—He seems to have some settled scheme of his own, but what it is I do not yet know....Just now his hobby is catching flies. He has at present such a quantity that I have had myself to expostulate. To my astonishment, he did not break out into a fury, as I expected, but took the matter in simple seriousness. He thought for a moment and then said: 'May I have three days? I shall clear them away.' Of course, I said that must do. I must watch him.

18 June.—He has turned now his mind to spiders, and got several very big fellows in a box. He keeps feeding them with his flies, and the number of the latter is becoming sensibly diminished, although he has used half his food in attracting more flies from outside to his room (Stoker, 1897, 68, c.f. 116, 270).

Renfield subsequently tames a group of sparrows in order to dispose of the spiders, again at Seward's request. The alienist uses this development as an opportunity to accelerate the delusion through suggestive and provocative questioning:

When I came in he ran to me and said he wanted to ask me a great favour—a very, very great favour; and as he spoke he fawned on me like a dog. I asked him what it was, and he said, with a sort of rapture in his voice and bearing:

'A kitten, a nice little, sleek, playful kitten, that I can play with, and teach, and feed—and feed—and feed!' I was not unprepared for this request, for I had noticed how his pets went on increasing in size and vivacity, but I did not care that his pretty family of tame sparrows should be wiped out in the same manner as the flies and the spiders, so I said I would see about it, and asked him if he would not rather have a cat than a kitten. His eagerness betrayed him as he answered:

'Oh, yes I would like a cat! I only asked for a kitten lest you should refuse me a cat. No one would refuse me a kitten, would they (Stoker, 1897, 70)?'

It is clear that, as an empiricist, Seward is now in more or less complete possession of the previously unknown 'settled scheme' behind Renfield's delusion. A final examination of the evidence confirms a

picture already formulated by the alienist's own unconscious cerebration:

11 p.m.—I gave Renfield a strong opiate to-night, enough to make even him sleep, and took away his pocket-book to look at it. The thought that has been buzzing about my brain lately is complete, and the theory proved....what he desires is to absorb as many lives as he can, and he has laid himself out to achieve it in a cumulative way. He gave many flies to one spider, and many spiders to one bird, and then wanted a cat to eat the many birds (Stoker, 1897, 70-71. c.f. 69).

The progression in size within Renfield's food-chain is both logical and obvious as Seward himself implies, above. It is only the nutritional logic upon which the consumption is founded that is dissonant to the 'sane' world.¹⁷

The image of the thought 'buzzing about' inside Seward's brain, however, signals the edge of an approaching discursive crisis in the text, a breaking down of the supposed mental, or rather, logical, differences that distinguish patient from physician.¹⁸ The metaphor, with its insect associations, aligns the clinical conclusions which Seward draws from his observation of Renfield's consumption of life with the nutritional 'statistics' which the patient formulates from his own self-analysis.

Seward has already noted the regularity of Renfield's introspective activity:

He has evidently some deep problem in his mind, for he keeps a little note-book in which he is always jotting down something. Whole pages are filled up with masses of figures, generally single numbers added up in batches, and then the totals added in batches again, as though he was 'focusing' some account, as the auditors put it (Stoker, 1897, 69).

Physician and patient are observing the same process of ingestion. Both preserve their conclusions in a private journal—the phonograph or note-book. Only the assumed status of the physician as socially-responsible manipulator of an approved discourse assigns the roles of sanity and insanity, of observer and observed in the novel. But Seward, as his manipulation of Renfield's psychosis continually demonstrates, becomes increasingly irresponsible as his insane counterpart's

obsession develops. Seward's manipulation of his patient's displaced appetite parallels Renfield's ploys to attract flies, spiders and birds (Stoker, 1897, 107, 101). Essentially, he is 'consuming' Renfield's activities as empirical data.

It is in the privacy of Seward's phonograph journal, which the reader may study in much the same way as the alienist peruses Renfield's notebook, that the medical discourse in the text suddenly turns back upon itself, directing its gaze away from the customary subject of the patient and onto the normally transparent presence of the perceiving physician. Seward moves rapidly from observation to speculation, and from speculation to introspection:

What would have been his later steps? It would almost be worth while to complete the experiment. It might be done if there were only a sufficient cause. Men sneered at vivisection, and yet look at its results to-day! Why not advance science in its most difficult and vital aspect—the knowledge of the brain? Had I even the secret of one such mind—did I hold the key to the fancy of even one lunatic—I might advance my own branch of science to a pitch compared with which Burdon-Sanderson's physiology or Ferrier's brain knowledge would be as nothing. If only there were a sufficient cause! I must not think too much of this, or I may be tempted; a good cause might turn the scale with me, for may not I too be of an exceptional brain, congenitally (Stoker, 1897, 71)?

Seward's desire for a 'cause,' a justification upon which to base further intervention in Renfield's psychopathology, must be read in the context of the alienist's earlier assessment of his patient:

...a possibly dangerous man, probably dangerous if unselfish. In selfish men caution is as secure an armour for their foes as for themselves. What I think of on this point is, when self is the fixed point the centripetal force is balanced with the centrifugal: when duty, a cause, etc., is the fixed point, the latter force is paramount, and only accident or a series of accidents can balance it (Stoker, 1897, 61).

Because the investigation was explicitly initiated out of personal motives—as an anodyne following the rejection of his courtship by Lucy Westenra—it is limited, to use Seward's own theoretical terminology, by the 'caution' of self-restraint, by the self as 'fixed

point.' Even Seward's ambition, manifested in the text by the coupling of the names of contemporary physicians with the 'I' which is striving to eclipse their discoveries, is restricted by the absence of 'a sufficient cause' beyond the compass of the self.¹⁹

Seward has retreated far from the Hippocratic convention of the physician as healer. His concern is clearly not for Renfield but for his 'quaint' ideas, 'the case of Renfield,' his present and future pathology rather than his return to mental health (Stoker, 1897, 60, 68). Hence Seward may report:

The man is an undeveloped homicidal maniac. I shall test him with his present craving and see how it will work out; then I shall know more (Stoker, 1897, 70).

But Seward fears the consequence of going beyond Renfield's 'present craving,' of playing the mania out to its logical conclusion—'I wonder at how many lives he values a man, or if at only one' (Stoker, 1897, 71). The homicidal motives within the self, sufficient for the lunatic, are still not enough for his keeper—although Seward is explicitly wary that excessive concentration on his own obsession might 'turn the scale.' The potential is always there.

The superficial division between 'sane' and 'insane' is, however, preserved, despite the novel's insistence on a common pattern of mental structures. At the peak of Seward's obsession 'duty'—meaning, the physiological and spiritual needs first of Lucy Westenra and latterly of Mina Harker—is substituted for the absent 'cause.'²⁰ Seward is thus enabled to demonstrate his 'sanity,' to return to the Hippocratic convention of healing, to align with Van Helsing rather than with Renfield, the latter by now increasingly associated with the 'criminally insane' Count Dracula.²¹

Reading *Dracula* by way of Victorian medical discourse thus permits the relationships between Renfield, Seward and Dracula to take on a different perspective. The vampire becomes a coda to Renfield's mental illness, rather than its central feature. Seward, through his medical malpractice, assumes the responsibility not merely for exacerbating Renfield's illness, but also, ironically, for facilitating the vampire's access to Mina Harker, and the death of his patient also.²² Most revealing of all, however, is the implication that any analysis of Renfield will bring the reader finally to Seward—not merely through the alienist's intervention in his patient's original illness, but rather through the mental conditions, drives and neuroses which both share.

When Seward says of Renfield's obsession, 'We are progressing,' he is pointing also to the parallel neurosis of his own watchfulness, his own consumption, of which the reader is frequently an observer, but seldom, it seems, an analyst (Stoker, 1897, 69).

NOTES

¹B. Stoker, *Dracula* [1897] (Oxford, 1983), p. 248. c.f.p. 225. For modern critical views of Renfield see C. Leatherdale, *Dracula: The Novel and the Legend* (Wellingborough, 1985), pp. 178-179.

²V. Sage, *Horror Fiction in the Protestant Tradition* (Basingstoke, 1988), p. 54.

³Stoker 1897, pp. 60, 52., 81, 75. The novel specifies no year for its action.

⁴Stoker 1897, p. 240. Renfield is committed to psychiatric care through the intervention of his friends. See Stoker 1897, pp. 233-234.

⁵Stoker 1897, pp. 70-71.

⁶Stoker, p. 69, c.f. pp. 70, 115, 232, 234, 255.

⁷Stoker 1897, p. 270, c.f. pp. 268-269.

⁸Stoker 1897, p. 141.

⁹Stoker 1897, p. 60.

¹⁰Stoker 1897, p. 60.

¹¹William B. Carpenter, *Principles of Mental Physiology with their Applications to the Training and Discipline of the Mind and the Study of its Morbid Conditions* (London, 1874), p. 15.

¹²Carpenter defined the process of Unconscious Cerebration in 1853. According to Whyte, the term entered popular usage around 1870. See L.L. Whyte, *The Unconscious Before Freud* (London, 1967), pp. 155, 163, 169-170; W. B. Carpenter, 'The Unconscious Action of the Brain,' *Science Lectures for the People*, Third Series (1871), pp. 3, 18; c.f. F.P. Cobbe, 'Unconscious Cerebration. A Psychological Study,' *Macmillan's Magazine* (November 1870), pp. 25-26.

¹³Stoker 1897, p. 69.

¹⁴Stoker 1897, p. 270. For other references to the concept see Stoker 1897, p. 69, and c.f. p. 278, pp. 340-341. The process is mentioned occasionally in Stoker's other fiction. See *The Shoulder of Shasta* (Westminsters, 1895), p. 215; *Lady Athlyne* (London, 1908), p. 250.

¹⁵Carpenter 1874, pp. 532-533.

¹⁶C. F. Cobbe, p. 33. Consider also Van Helsing's reference to 'madman's logic': Stoker 1897, p. 194.

¹⁷Note the momentarily 'sane' Renfield's assessment of his delusion during his interview with Mina Harker. Stoker 1897, p. 234.

¹⁸Note that Van Helsing uses the same image in connexion with his own unconscious cerebration: Stoker 1897, p. 340.

¹⁹For information on Ferrier and Burdon-Sanderson see: R. Jann, "Saved by Science? The Mixed Metaphors of Stoker's *Dracula*," *TSL* 31 (1989), 277 and n. 12.

²⁰Seward, as a gentleman, also has a conventional 'duty' towards women in distress. See Mark Girouard, *The Return to Camelot: Chivalry of the English Gentleman* (New Haven, 1981), p. 260.

²¹Note that Van Helsing describes 'the philosophy of crime' as 'the study of insanity': Stoker 1897, p. 341.

²²Note Van Helsing's words to Jonathan Harker: Stoker 1897, p. 302.

**THE ILLUSORY ANGEL:
THE PERFECT VICTORIAN WIFE**

Anne Razey Gowdy

Knoxville, Tennessee

George Eliot's *Middlemarch* depicts middle-class British provincial life just before and after 1830. In this society, the primary role ordained for women was that of wife and mother. Both men and women were conditioned from childhood to adhere to rigid conventionalized expectations built upon an elaborate code of appropriate behavior designed to prepare girls for marriage. Elaine Showalter outlines the model for female behavior:

The middle-class ideology of the proper sphere of womanhood, which developed in post-industrial England and America, prescribed a woman who would be a Perfect Lady, an Angel in the House, *contentedly submissive* to men, but strong in her inner purity and religiosity, queen in her own realm of the Home.¹

This description parallels that of Coventry Patmore's Angel in the House, "the eponymous heroine of what may have been [in the estimation of Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar] the middle nineteenth century's most popular book of poems."² It is worth noting initially the obvious problems set up by any code of behavior that demands perfection, a goal reinforced by religious overtones; "angel" is no misnomer for what the woman was expected to become. Nevertheless, young women underwent a rigorous indoctrination, convincing them that by conforming to the model, they would ensure happiness for all members of the family, including themselves; as Patmore summarizes, "Man must be pleased; but him to please/ Is woman's pleasure."³

Patmore, like Rousseau, defines woman on a scale of likeness to and difference from man; seeing her subservient role as part of her God-created difference elevates her inferiority to a philosophical concept. Therefore, according to Bina Freiwald, the woman who violates her ordained role—for example by taking up freethinking, Radicalism, divided skirts, or tricycles—becomes "an outrage against nature."⁴ Patmore projects a thoroughgoing male viewpoint, yet one which for generations women, too, accepted, reinforced, and tried to use to guide their lives. It worked with mixed success.

The woman who subscribes to this ideal must, according to Patmore's portrait, necessarily regress to a state of childlike dependence:

THE ILLUSORY ANGEL

A rapture of submission lifts
Her life into celestial rest;
There's nothing left of what she was;
Back to the babe the woman dies,
And all the wisdom that she has
Is to love him for being wise.⁵

This model, echoing John Ruskin's idealization of a "majestic childishness" for women, exposes yet another unresolvable contradiction: any ideal of feminine purity valorizing a childish, asexual innocence is by definition hopelessly irreconcilable with the sexual "duties" of a wife and mother.⁶

Yet by direct statement and by implication, *Middlemarch* suggests that the sentimental portrayal of womanhood in Patmore's poem is a legitimate depiction of the idealized woman that Victorian men of the middle class and above sought to marry and that young women thought it was their duty to become—and this, in an age when duty was taken very seriously. At the same time, Eliot suggests that neither the entirely contented woman nor the happy marriage that the angelic model was expected to produce was so common as the men creating the image would have liked to believe. Eliot details the disastrous marriages of Dorothea and Casaubon and of Rosamond and Lydgate to unmask hidden and negative faces of the angel.

Patmore's angel is beautiful, innocent, talented, charming, and—above all—entirely subservient; if this was not a large enough order, Deborah Gorham reminds us that there was still another requirement: "Possessing no ambitious strivings, she would be free of any trace of anger or hostility."⁷ Many women who appeared successful in the angel role could not deal as well with the expectation that they would be contentedly submissive, though the unhappy angels often masked their discontent at great cost to themselves. In particular, the heroine Dorothea Brooke Casaubon (later Ladislaw), in her sincere struggles to fit comfortably into the standard mold, finally realizes that she cannot submit to what it demands. She is one of Eliot's heroines whom Jeni Calder describes as "women who had hopes and aspirations beyond the conventional," whose "unusualness and ambition" show up in contrast to the ordinary people in the community they inhabit.⁸ Rosamond Vincy Lydgate functions as foil to Dorothea, illustrating a different kind of rebellion against the norm she has been thoroughly trained to accept. Woven through the novel, supplementing the author's commentary, are glimpses of other marriages.

Particularly in the comments of the male characters, *Middlemarch* displays much of what these expectations and preparations involved; several of the men describe their ideal woman. Edward Casaubon, the stuffy, fiftyish, bachelor scholar who becomes engaged to Dorothea, compliments her on having “more than all...those qualities...regarded as the characteristic excellences of womanhood.”⁹ But we should note that the one quality he mentions specifically is “capability of an ardent *self-sacrificing* affection” (73, my emphasis). The thoughts of Lydgate, the young doctor, during his courtship of the lovely Rosamond Vincy, reveal more detail:

[H]e had found perfect womanhood,...an accomplished creature who venerated his high musings and momentous labours and would never interfere with them; who would create order in the home and accounts with still magic, yet keep her fingers ready to touch the lute and transform life into romance at any moment; who was instructed to the true womanly limit and not a hair's-breadth beyond—docile, therefore, and ready to carry out behests which came from beyond that limit. (387)

Lydgate's words take on deep irony as the novel unfolds and Rosamond disappoints each of these fond hopes as well as others not yet expressed: she scorns his idealism about his profession, creates disharmony in their home, creates music and romance with another man, and goes well beyond the limits of ladylike decorum. She clearly does not fulfill his ideal, nor, as we shall see, is their marriage fulfilling for her. These partners, acting consistently with their conditioning and expectations, bring unhappiness to themselves and to one another.

A minor character, Mr. Chichely, adds an interesting qualification for his ideal woman, an attribute which he rightly recognizes in Rosamond Vincy before her marriage: “I like a woman who lays herself out a little more to please us. There should be a little filigree about a woman—something of the coquette. A man likes that sort of challenge....[T]here should be a little devil in a woman.” (115) Rosamond has used these charms to win Lydgate, who wanted an attractive but undemanding wife. Calder points out that Rosamond “is as ready to present herself as decorative and accomplished as he is to assume that that is what he requires a wife to be....What neither of them recognize is that this attitude, and the response to it, won't stand up to the realities of married life” (138-9). The trouble is that, having been well instructed in the art of coquetry in order to find a husband,

Rosamond continues to practice it on Will Ladislaw and others after her marriage—the only way she knows how to relate to men, even when it is no longer appropriate. Flirting is with her a game, an entertainment she engages in to alleviate her boredom, as if it had no consequences in the real world. Rosamond thinks she is learning how the real world is “that women, even after marriage, might make conquests and enslave men” (474), but her fantasy is more like a medieval courtly romance than a realistic view of marriage. She also exhibits here the image, borrowed from the angel stereotype, of the wife as a queen in her home: “How delightful to make captives from the throne of marriage with a husband as crown-prince by your side—himself in fact a subject—while the captives look up for ever hopeless, losing their rest probably, and if their appetite too, so much the better!” (475)

Even when she is pregnant, Rosamond defies the wishes of her doctor-husband not to go riding, a choice she rationalizes in part because “she was very fond of the exercise” and because it was good for their connections with her husband’s wealthy relatives. But the reason she dwells on at greatest length is “the gratification of riding on a fine horse, with Captain Lydgate, Sir Godwin’s son, on another fine horse by her side, and of being met in this position by any one but her husband,...something as good as her dreams before marriage” (630). She is not ready to settle into the role of dutiful wife or mother-to-be; in fact, Rosamond’s miscarriage after the riding episode may be not altogether an accident. Calder quotes from an 1862 report which suggests another possibility, apparently not uncommon:

I have known a married woman, a highly educated, and in other points of view most estimable person, when warned of the risk of miscarriage from the course of life she was pursuing, to make light of the danger, and even express the hope that such a result might follow....of married ladies whenever they find themselves pregnant, habitually beginning to take exercise, on foot or on horseback, to an extent unusual at other times, and thus making themselves abort.¹⁰

Given other evidences of Rosamond’s unpreparedness to accept adult responsibility, she might well go to such extremes. Entirely consistent, too, is Rosamond’s use of horseback riding as an instrument of her rebellion against male authority. Gilbert and Gubar see men attracted to women who are spirited and in need of taming, like fine horses: “Men like such captives as they like horses that champ the bit

and paw the ground; they feel more triumph in the mastery.”¹¹ Rosamond refuses to be tamed.

Lydgate is not alone in seeking a woman whose main attribute is “grace itself...perfectly lovely and accomplished” (121). She would of course be beautiful: Rosamond, says Lydgate, “had excellent taste in costume, with that nymph-like figure and pure blondness which gave the largest range to choice in the flow and colour of drapery” (123). Further, she had excelled at Mrs. Lemon’s school for young ladies, “where the teaching included all that was demanded in the accomplished female—even to extras, such as the getting in and out of a carriage...mental acquisition and propriety of speech...[and] musical execution” (123). Despite the allusion to “mental acquisition,” the men agree that the perfect woman is educated in skills rather than ideas, and that the most fitting achievements for her fall within the limited sphere of “accomplishments for the refined amusement of man” (302).

Rosamond Vincy, Celia Brooke, and Mary Garth all demonstrate capabilities in performing kinds of “musical execution” with which to soothe and entertain gentlemen. Rosamond can play or sing whatever her audience likes, captivating Lydgate with her virtuosity (190). Celia plays “an ‘air, with variations’, a small kind of tinkling which symbolized the aesthetic part of the young ladies’ education” (68). Mary pleases old Mr. Featherstone, who approves of her rendition of “the sentimental song...the suitable garnish for girls” (143).

Dorothea—though she, too, can play—holds a different view, and is forgiven by the narrator for her “slight regard for domestic music and feminine fine art...considering the small tinkling and smearing in which they chiefly consisted at that dark period” (89). Her musicality is of another, less artificial sort: when Ladislaw meets her, he responds at once to the extreme beauty of her voice, which “was like the voice of a soul that had once lived in an Aeolian harp” (105). When Dorothea confesses that the music of the great organ she once heard at Freiberg had moved her to tears, her uncle remarks that such a passionate reaction is “not healthy” and urges her future husband to teach her “to take things more quietly” (90). The implication here seems to be that all instances of strong feeling are linked, and that since sexual passion is not appropriate for a “pure” woman to feel, she must keep her emotions under tight control at all times.¹² Sir James, considering Dorothea’s “excessive religiousness,” suspects that it will “die out with marriage” (43); this estimate suggests that he sees her religious “passion” as a temporary substitute for wifehood and motherhood, the only socially sanctioned concerns which ought to be stimulating and

fulfilling for her. A proper woman in such a society is thus limited in what she may appropriately feel; there must be no instinctive, unguarded moments.

Both the men and the women are conditioned to expect that a woman will not be intellectual. Mr. Featherstone "can't abide" that Mary Garth is "too fond" of reading and "put a stop to that" (139). Lydgate explains to Rosamond: "An accomplished woman almost always knows more than we men, though her knowledge is of a different sort" (189), and he thinks less of Dorothea because "She did not look at things from the proper feminine angle" (122). Although Lydgate wants a woman who would serve principally as adornment, Dorothea prefers to engage in serious conversations, which would have been considered by him as men's talk, unbecoming for a lady. Mr. Brooke, no great mind himself, is more blunt: "Your sex are not thinkers, you know" (77); he explains further: "There is a lightness about the feminine mind—a touch and go—music, the fine arts, that kind of thing—they should study those up to a certain point, women should; but in a light way" (89). For example, he confides, "Young ladies don't understand political economy" (39). He concludes that "love of knowledge and going into everything...doesn't often run in the female line" but instead "it runs underground...it comes out in the sons" (69). He cautions the newly married Mrs. Casaubon to leave her husband's books alone, for "We must not have you getting too learned for a woman" (423). Gorham notes that some knowledge of masculine subjects might be useful insofar as it could make some women better listeners in male company, but "science, if studied for its own sake, would damage their 'feminine delicacy.'" ¹³ As for the intellect of men, the prevailing "tradition" is summed up in the notion of Sir James Chettam: "A man's mind—what there is of it—has always the advantage of being masculine—as the smallest birch-tree is of a higher kind than the most soaring palm—and even his ignorance is of a sounder quality" (44).

Given these chauvinistic assumptions, it is not surprising that women were expected always to defer to the opinions and wishes of men: fathers, husbands, brothers, brothers-in-law, ministers, friends. Lydgate relies "especially on the innate submissiveness of the goose as beautifully corresponding to the strength of the gander" (391), and considers it a high compliment when he notes in Rosamond her "infantile blondness" (188). The unmarried Mr. Brooke speaks freely that "a husband likes to be master" (64), and his nieces understand this presupposition too.

Even Dorothea “retained very childlike ideas about marriage.... ‘The really delightful marriage, she thinks, ‘must be that where your husband was a sort of father ...’ ” (32). She questions only “how she could be good enough for Mr. Casaubon” (74), and specifies as her chief aim in life “to help some one who did great works, so that his burthen might be lighter” (399). What Dorothea says before her first marriage is that she wants a union “which would give her the freedom of *voluntary submission* to a guide who would take her along the grandest path” (51, my emphasis). She implies in all of these expectations that she wants a husband who will be so strong, so good, so intelligent, that she will naturally worship and obey him. Her own happiness and fulfillment, she earnestly believes, will come in helping and learning from this superior man she has created in her imagination. Unfortunately, the challenge for Casaubon to be superior is one he cannot meet; Dorothea’s innocent expectation that he will be truly superior becomes, as Christine Sutphin notes, a kind of “retribution for his earlier arrogance, his assumed, unexamined sense of his own superiority.”¹⁴

But Sutphin judges that by the standards of her time, Eliot’s novels do more than simply endorse traditional feminine passivity and submission:

Eliot characteristically presents passivity and submission as evils the heroine must struggle against, [but] *willed* submission...may be part of a struggle for improvement [and] may take the form of dependence on a man, but it always involves moral choice and is [thus] paradoxically ‘active.’ Voluntary submission, either to one’s idea of right or to a mentor, can result in moral growth and a kind of unselfishness that is not necessarily selfless.¹⁵

Lloyd Fernando concurs that Eliot “perceived her heroines striving for the fullest realization of their potential—which involved, essentially, making crucial moral choices in matters of feeling.”¹⁶ When Dorothea, who has “not the same tastes as every young lady,” says that she does “wish to have a husband who was above me in judgment and in all knowledge” (64), her reasons are not the usual ones; she also indicates that she wants a husband who “could [and would] teach you even Hebrew, if you wished it” (32). Though readers may fault Dorothea for choosing to marry Casaubon for the wrong reason, Sutphin reminds us that “she is not entirely to blame because society

has shaped and limited her ambitions and kept her ignorant not only of Hebrew but of her own needs.”¹⁷ The passion that she hopes to fulfill in marriage is a passion for higher learning, the kind capable of replacing “that toybox history of the world adapted to young ladies which had been made the chief part of her education” (112). Instead Dorothea wants to study Latin and Greek: “Those provinces of masculine knowledge seemed to her a standing-ground from which all truth could be seen more truly....[S]he wished, poor child, to be wise herself” (88). She clearly does not conform on this point to the prevailing view of education for a woman.¹⁸ Mrs. Plymdale, speaking for the community, sees as wasted “accomplishments which would be all laid aside as soon as she was married” (197). True to her conditioning, even Dorothea herself begins to suspect that perhaps she is incapable of learning Greek because she is female (89).

Dorothea seems to Lydgate less desirable as a wife, despite her status as an heiress, because she has “notions” about the world outside of the home; she concerns herself about reforms that would make life better for the poor people in her neighborhood, and attempts to act on her strongly held beliefs. Sir James and Mr. Garth admire her high principles and her clear thinking. Mrs. Garth, hearing her husband speak of Dorothea’s head for business, expresses hopes that Dorothea will be “womanly...half suspecting that Mrs. Casaubon might not hold the true principle of subordination” (596). Mr. Garth reassures his wife that Dorothea has a lovely musical voice, in other words, that she is appropriately feminine. Nonetheless, her interests and outspokenness are not typical, we are told, in a time when “Women were expected to have weak opinions; but the great safeguard of society and of domestic life was, that opinions were not acted on. Sane people did what their neighbors did...” (31). According to Gorham, “girls must always remember that they should ‘look up to men,’ and they should *never* become ‘strong minded,’ [a term] often directed against the overly learned girl or woman....[The] line between the learned lady and the strong-minded female is dangerously thin” (104). Instead of caring about social reform, Dorothea is expected to immerse herself in the redecorating of her future husband’s house. Women are indulged in these little decisions because, the narrator suggests, a woman is allowed to dictate before marriage “in order that she may have an appetite for submission afterwards” (98). But Dorothea responds in her own individualistic way: “I would rather have all those matters decided for me” (100). She does not take the usual delight in seeing to all the trivial details of making over her future home into a feminine bridal

bower, but prefers to move into it just as it is, a reflection of Casaubon's world that she hopes to share. She is, as Calder suggests, "above a life of thinking of furniture" (138).

Dorothea exhibits, though, in the expectations of her position in marriage the central Victorian world view of the authoritarian patriarchal family. Mothers saw to it that daughters learned early how they were expected to behave; children learned about family life from what they saw in their own homes as well as from lessons and rules they had to obey. Scenes in the Vincy family, in particular, reveal the differences in the ways sons and daughters were treated. Fred, the eldest son, is forgiven everything by his indulgent mother, who repeatedly makes excuses for him. Over his sister's objections, he is allowed to sleep late and to demand whatever he wants to eat. His father reluctantly supports Fred's extravagant habits, even though Fred has not done well at the university where he has been sent at considerable expense to prepare him to enter the church and raise the family's status; he thus subverts his father's theory that "It's a good British feeling to try to raise your family a little" (156). Though their filial obligations are distinct in requirement and value, Rosamond meets hers while Fred consistently does not—until he is reformed by the love of a virtuous woman, Mary Garth, who demands as the price of her hand in marriage that he become responsible.

Mrs. Vincy spells out for her daughter the lesson she should learn from—and about—the inequalities of position: "Oh, my dear, you are so hard on your brothers!...[Y]ou want to deny them things....[Y]ou must allow for young men....A woman must learn to put up with little things. You will be married some day" (125). Rosamond is an apt pupil of her mother's wisdom, and so shortly afterward "adjusts" to her brother's wish that she play the piano for him when she has asked instead that he go riding with her (130). Another mother of a marriageable daughter, Mrs. Garth, is of the opinion that "her own sex...was framed to be entirely subordinate," is "disproportionately indulgent towards the failings of men, and...often heard to say that these were natural" (275). The Garth family, though, tempered rules with affection, loyalty, and good humor. Thus, traditions—both explicit and implicit—conditioned expectations when it came time for young people to marry, but the wife's subservient role was reinforced even by teachings of female parent to female child.

Middlemarch explores the courtships and marriages of several young women: of Celia Brooke and Sir James Chettam, of Mary Garth and Fred Vincy, of Rosamond Vincy and Tertius Lydgate, and of Dorothea Brooke and Edward Casaubon. Sir James and Casaubon are

considerably older than their brides, as was often the case in a society which placed a premium upon having men demonstrate financial security before taking on the substantial obligations of a household. Because the later union of Dorothea with Will Ladislaw, like that of Mary and Fred, occurs only in the final pages, it is not my intention to consider them here.

Of these pairs, the Celia-Sir James relationship comes closest to showing the stereotypical Victorian husband-wife situation in its best light because it seems to satisfy both parties involved. Celia seems happy, dutifully obedient to her older husband (even when he forbids her to see her sister), and fully preoccupied with her baby. Celia has absorbed the values as well as the lessons of the female education she was offered. In agreeing to marry her guardian's well-to-do friend, who owns the adjoining estate, she accepts the dictate of the community, expressed by Mrs. Cadwallader: "Young people should think of their families in marrying" (80), and Celia seems comfortable with the result. She comes closest to being able to live as a contented Angel in the House. She tells her widowed sister that "it is a mercy now after all that you have got James to think for you. He lets you have your plans, only he hinders you from being taken in." But even Celia adds, "And that is the good of having a brother instead of a husband. A husband would not let you have your plans" (792).

Mary Garth is level-headed and honest, true to her high principles and true to Fred, whom she has loved from childhood. She comes from a family in which there is love, affection, humor. She is an example of another Victorian type, the noble woman who understands "her place," but who in a sense can control and improve the imperfect man who loves her. Her father, in approving the engagement, compares her to her mother, saying "you'll keep him in order." Mary's answer, given with a smile, is that "husbands are an inferior class of men, who require keeping in order" (887). There is evidence throughout the book that Mary, the stronger character of the pair, has been and will continue to be good for Fred, without upsetting the prevailing social order of male supremacy. Had she chosen instead her other suitor, Mr. Farebrother, they would have been more nearly equals in maturity and integrity, and she would have had less power in the partnership than it appears she will have as Fred's wife.

This issue of maturity is crucial in another marriage in the novel. Life does not go well for Rosamond and Lydgate, largely because she remains "infantile" in the marriage relationship. She is resentful, selfish, extravagant, flirtatious; she attempts a return to dependence upon her father when there is difficulty. She rebelliously asserts herself

against the authority of her husband, acts independently, and is generally unhappy: "He was always to her a being apart, doing what she objected to" (814). For his part, the idealistic Lydgate is miserable in his choice of wife, but he resolves to make the best of their situation. Calder summarizes some of the reasons for their problems:

Neither Lydgate nor Rosamond have thought about what marriage might mean as a human relationship. They have seen it as a social arrangement, as a professional arrangement, as a mutually attractive institution, but neither has looked at the other as an individual with individual needs and expectations....Both of them see their wants in terms of performance....[H]e is at a loss when she exerts *her* authority directly against his. Of course he is right and reasonable in his attempt to save their financial situation, but to become suddenly the authoritarian husband after the indulgent lover is not reasonable. He did not marry Rosamond for her reason and sympathetic understanding, and his appeals to these non-existent qualities have to fail (140).

In time of difficulty, "it was as if they were both adrift on one piece of wreck and looked away from each other" (814). They remain married, but "they lived on from day to day with their thoughts still apart" (816). Both partners are at fault, but both deserve sympathy because they are playing out unrealistic roles they have been taught to expect will bring them a happy married life. Theirs is probably a picture of many Victorian marriages.

Dorothea's struggles during her marriage to Casaubon are the most fully drawn. She is disappointed from the beginning in her hope for spiritual and intellectual communion with her austere husband. She learns early that the best course is not to speak openly; after a "little explosion" from Casaubon during the Rome honeymoon, "it had been easier ever since to quell emotion than to incur the consequence of venting it" (316). She becomes more uncomfortable around him, because "she felt that he often inwardly objected to her speech" (362). In a conversation with her uncle, she speaks with energy about her concerns for reform, and experiences "relief of pouring forth her feelings, unchecked: an experience once habitual with her, but hardly ever present since her marriage, which had been a perpetual struggle of energy with fear" (424).

After a time, the fear crystallizes into anger, "the reaction of a rebellious anger stronger than any she had felt since her marriage," at a

point when she feels shut out from any communication with her husband (463). It is as if she has to “shut her best soul in prison, paying it only hidden visits” (464), but in this crisis, after a “meditative struggle,...the resolved submission did come” (464). After this incident, she begins to think of him as a “lamed creature” (465), and realizes that their marriage cannot furnish the kind of companionship she had longed for:

It was another or rather a fuller sort of companionship that poor Dorothea was hungering for, and the hunger had grown from the perpetual effort demanded by her married life. She was always trying to be what her husband wished, and never able to repose in his delight in what she was. The thing that she liked, that she spontaneously cared to have, seemed to be always excluded from her life; for if it was only granted and not shared by her husband it might as well have been denied. (516).

It is not surprising, after Casaubon's death, that Lydgate, Dorothea's doctor, “felt sure that she had been suffering from the strain and conflict of self-repression” (534). After she learns of the provisions of her husband's will, she struggles further with a reassessment of her marriage. Her resolution comes when she writes a note to the dead Casaubon, finally able to tell him what she could not in life: “...I could not submit my soul to yours...” (583). Prentis determines that “the failure of this marriage is the first turning-point in Dorothea's journey towards a measure of self-knowledge, a journey which is one of the central ingredients in a novel that is all about the attainment of such knowledge.”¹⁹

Dorothea's plight reflects the anguish of Victorian wives who sought a role other than the one into which they had been cast. She could, with great sense of duty and effort of will power, *play* the Angel, but could not comfortably sacrifice her own integrity to be the sort of wife that Virginia Woolf describes in her 1930 version of Coventry Patmore's angel:

She was intensely sympathetic. She was immensely charming. She was utterly unselfish. She excelled in the difficult arts of family life. She sacrificed herself daily....she was so constituted that she never had a mind or a wish of her own, but preferred to sympathize always with the minds and wishes of others.²⁰

Woolf's depiction corresponds on the surface with Patmore's, but the intervening years have brought a strong shift of tone; the difference is that for Woolf the angel represents no attractive aspiration, no height of perfect womanhood. For the male Patmore, the Angel is a positive ideal of nineteenth-century wives and mothers; for the female Woolf, the Angel is the twentieth century's threatening phantom to female aspiration. Woolf is haunted, as were other women, by the limitations which the angel role demanded: no less than the sacrifice of selfhood in service of others.

Eliot's conception of the angel as trapped in a system of limitations places her heroine in the mode of Woolf rather than that of Patmore; Fernando agrees that "Dorothea is intended to represent an impressive conception of mid-Victorian womanhood cramped by restrictions placed upon her by society" (41). Dorothea's realization and her note to the dead Casaubon struck a blow against the enshrinement of the angel no less than Woolf's inkpots did sixty years later. For her own time, Dorothea was saying the unsayable. Rosamond is no less a victim of expectations, and for her there is no rescue. Sutphin judges that "Rosamond's upbringing as the perfect passive lady has made her amoral; she is incapable of acknowledging responsibility for the suffering she creates or of feeling any real sympathy for others" (354). Eliot's Rosamond demonstrates that the most rigorous and accomplished preparation did not guarantee the hoped-for results, and Dorothea's first marriage reveals her internal conflict, the darker side of the angel in the house, unmasking her contented perfection for the illusion it often was.

NOTES

¹Elaine Showalter, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists From Bronte to Lessing* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1977), p. 14, emphasis mine. I thank Professors Natalie Schroeder and Joanne V. Hawks for their encouragement and support of my work on this project.

²Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1979), p. 22.

³Coventry Patmore, "The Angel in the House," *Poems*, Introd. Basil Champneys. (London: Bell, 1906), p. 52.

⁴Bina Freiwald, "Of Selfsame Desire: Patmore's 'Angel in the House'," *TSLL* 30 (1988), 548.

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⁵Patmore, pp. 118-119.

⁶Deborah Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1982), pp. 6-7.

⁷Gorham, p. 5.

⁸Jeni Calder, *Women and Marriage in Victorian Fiction* (New York: Oxford UP, 1976), pp. 126, 136.

⁹George Eliot, *Middlemarch*. W.J. Harvey, ed. (London, 1965). All quotations from the novel are taken from this edition and are cited hereafter by parenthetical page numbers. For the sake of consistency, I have silently corrected punctuation within the quotations by adding periods after abbreviations and changing hyphens to dashes where appropriate.

¹⁰Calder, p. 160.

¹¹Gilbert and Gubar, p. 497.

¹²One popular manual on the bringing up of daughters, written by a doctor in 1882, instructed mothers that piano practice ought to be discouraged during the girls' monthly periods because it represented too much physical strain, and because "emotions invoked by the music could be harmful" (qtd. in Gorham 87).

¹³Gorham, pp. 103-104.

¹⁴Christine Sutphin, "Feminine Passivity and Rebellion in Four Novels by George Eliot," *TSL* 29 (1987), 349.

¹⁵Sutphin, pp. 342, 343, emphasis mine. Sutphin sees this theme as evolving further throughout *The Mill on the Floss*, *Felix Holt*, and *Daniel Deronda* (343).

¹⁶Lloyd Fernando, "*New Women*" in *the Late Victorian Novel* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State UP, 1977), p. 32.

¹⁷Sutphin, p. 350.

¹⁸Gorham points out that throughout puberty, "excessive study, especially was considered harmful to the adolescent girl [because it might] too forcibly engross the mind and the energies required by the constitution to work out nature's ends" of motherhood (87).

¹⁹Barbara Prentis, *The Bronte Sisters and George Eliot: A Unity of Difference* (Totowa, N.J., 1988), p. 178.

²⁰Virginia Woolf, "Professions for Women," *The Death of the Moth and Other Essays* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1942), p. 237.

AN IRISH LANDSCAPE IN BECKETT'S FICTION

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In 1967, Maurice Harmon's *Modern Irish Literature 1800-1967: A Reader's Guide* (Dolmen Press), offering standard information for Irish readers in Ireland about Irish literature, did not mention Samuel Beckett. A more recent version (Wolfhound Press) published in 1977 includes Beckett matter-of-factly with other modern Irish writers (Mays, "Beckett's Irish Roots" 19). Not until the spring of 1991 did the first book-length study of Beckett as an Irish writer appear—John P. Harrington's *The Irish Beckett* (Syracuse University Press). As recently as 1980, the bibliography of the Modern Language Association listed Beckett only in its sections on French literature. In 1981 the editors began to include him in the sections on French and on Irish literature. Later MLA listings continue to include him in both sections.

But Beckett is not simply inching his way into the Irish literary tradition. The most recent significant news about this writer is what Linda Ben-Zwi refers to as his "Dublin-izing" (2). The central feature of the 1991 Dublin Theatre Festival was its Beckett Festival. The Gate Theatre presented in nine separate stagings all nineteen of Beckett's plays. Trinity College Dublin held seminars of scholarly presentations on his works and offered impressive exhibitions of manuscript materials. And Radio Telefis Eireann broadcast more than fifteen television and radio productions for the three weeks the larger Festival was being held. Commenting on this flurry of activities, Michael Colgan, Director of the Gate Theatre, said that the time had arrived "to introduce a Dublin Audience to this great writer who needs to be looked at in Ireland" (Schreibman and O'Halloran 1-2).

These events, however, do make us forget Beckett's life-long denial of professional identity with the land of his birth, a denial so vigorous that it has become a literary joke. In 1979 the Irish writer David Handy has two characters, Keegan and Crossan, from his novel *In Guilt and in Glory* debate Beckett's literary nationalism:

"[Joyce] would be anachronistic [now]. We seem to produce men for our times. Our guru now must be Mr. Beckett."

"Ah."

"I fear his cockerel's head."

"He has nothing to say."

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"Excuse me. He has plenty to say, but knows the futility of saying it."

"Mr. Beckett is an evangelical zombie, preaching for years to an empty church. Then the word gets out, the church fills to overflowing, and when they hear his sermon he is telling them that they shouldn't listen to preachers."

"....A very hard thing to accept."

"Especially if you're Irish."

"It's a useful appellation."

"Do you think of Mr. Beckett as Irish?"

"He's a Protestant of English blood, educated at Trinity, a cricket player who lives in Paris and writes French. Of course he's Irish."¹

To think of Beckett as an Irish writer is to be instantly aware that his Irishness is very different from that of writers such as Yeats and Synge, or even, in more precise ways, from that of Joyce. J. C. C. Mays writes of Beckett's "relationship to the traditions he inherits" as involving Beckett in "predicaments of national and personal identity" ("Mythologised Presences" 202-03). While Beckett has obviously and consistently repudiated any literary concern with Irish history or culture, he has not escaped what Richard Kearney calls the "specifically Irish experiences of exile, marginality and dissent" ("The Demythologising Intellect" 293). Thus, Harrington's claim that Beckett's rejection of Irish culture as a milieu for his writings does not mean that these writings are not "consistently grounded" in the "*Irish* cultural predicament" remains valid (191). If we concede that Beckett's writings have been a long rejection of his native land, that rejection itself implies relationship.

However we define Beckett's Irishness, his connection with the Irish literary tradition is much more firmly established today than it was twenty years ago. Nonetheless, this link will almost certainly never develop into an enclosing of Beckett within the tradition. Three reasons for this claim are: Beckett's origins, in regard to early upbringing, religion, and education are Anglo-Irish rather than Gaelic; his extended absence from Ireland as homeland is deliberate and biographically definitive; and his adoption of French as the language of his writings situates him in a larger European or continental tradition of literature. But to refuse to enclose Beckett within the Irish tradition by no means negates the strong influence of this literary tradition on his work.

There are at least four ways to consider Beckett's literary relationship to Ireland. One is his unique use of the Gaelic literary

heritage so exploited in different ways by writers such as W. B. Yeats, John Synge, and James Joyce. The scholar who has pioneered in linking Beckett with the Gaelic literary heritage is Vivian Mercier. In *The Irish Comic Traditions*, Mercier describes Beckett's extensive shaping of his characters on the "grotesque-macabre" human sexual patterns abounding in the illustrations, carvings, and rituals of early Gaelic myth and folklore (47-77). In her article on Beckett in *Yeats, Joyce, and Beckett: New Light on Three Modern Irish Writers*, Sighle Kennedy refines and extends Mercier's observations, identifying Beckett's painstaking translation of part of Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake* into French as the source of Beckett's knowledge of the Gaelic literary tradition, and placing Beckett's use of this tradition more deeply in the thematics of the writings (154-57).

A second element of Beckett's literary Irishness is what Colgan describes as the particular suitability of the Irish voice to Beckett's drama. "The Irish voice has a special quality in his plays....Beckett's voice and rhythm suits Irish readers. When he wrote plays, he wrote in a certain rhythm, which is very Hiberno-English." Alan Stanford, who acted the role of Pozzo in *Waiting for Godot* in the Dublin Festival agrees with Colgan: "In Ireland it is fascinating to see Beckett done in his native dialect. Gogo and Didi [Estragon and Vladimir of *Waiting for Godot*] belong to Ireland and very much of their speech fits in naturally here. It is very Irish, you can hear their conversations in any pub in Ireland" (O'Halloran 4). One can only wonder what Beckett would think on hearing his stripped, deliberately non-English language in this play described so gleefully as Anglo-Irish. But Colgan and Stanford are not alone in their observations; a consensus of similar response has developed.

A third element of Beckettian literary Irishness has to do with metaphysical grounding, a grounding which Hugh Kenner describes as a "crucial" escaping of "humanist dogma" by certain great Irish writers—he names Swift and Beckett—who have thereby become the "persistent reformers of the fictional imagination" (69). Because this element transcends content (Gaelic influence) and style (affinity to the Irish voice) to involve itself with Beckett's metaphysics, it is indeed "crucial." It remains provocative, however, in Kenner's discourse because he does not explain what he means by claiming that Beckett escapes humanist dogma in the tradition of Swift.

In his chapter on Beckett in *The Irish Mind*, Kearney illuminates what might be certain aspects of Kenner's claim. Beckett's people are separated from the bright promises of the Enlightenment proceeding

from Descartes' bold epistemology. Mind cannot connect functionally with matter, much less control it. Mind cannot implement the desires of the body nor gain freedom from physical demands. And the mind—or self—has no autonomous existence: it does not exist by virtue of its thought processes. Instead, in Beckett's world, in order to be, one must be perceived. Thus Beckett agrees with the Irish Berkeley: "*Esse est percipi aut percipere*" ("The Demythologising Intellect" 270-77). Beckett's characters, then, are not the human world-knowers and world-movers envisioned by Bacon, Newton, and their heirs. Instead, the Beckettian character is typically guilt-ridden, unable to effect much of anything, and at odds with and victimized by his environment. Unlike the existentialist heroes—those last determiners of their own destinies—Beckett's people are reduced to a perplexed waiting for help from a transcendent source that never materializes.

Kearney explains further that Beckett's "demythologization of enlightenment idealism" does not fit comfortable and rationalist ideas about divinity proceeding from deistic Enlightenment premises. Questions about God's existence or non-existence escape the boundaries of any appeal to reason or logic in Beckett's milieu. Furthermore, God is not situated either at some happy observational vantage point or as a cozy component of human consciousness. Instead, Beckett's deity exists (if he exists at all) in an "insurmountable" separation from humans, who are trapped in "fallibility and fallenness" ("The Demythologizing Intellect" 278). Kearney speculates that Beckett's "non-believing belief" or "agnosticism" allows for the *via negativa* as a possible "way to encounter an incomprehensible God." But such encounter remains only a possibility. Is Beckett's transcendent voice "simply nihilistic nonsense" or the speaking of the "hidden God"? Kearney concludes that it is impossible to tell ("The Demythologizing Intellect" 279, 281, 287). At any rate, Beckett's God escapes descriptions that have proliferated in Western thought since the Enlightenment.²

When Mays defines Beckett as Irish because of his place in a centuries-old, Anglo-Irish tradition, I think that he is describing a second component in what Kenner refers to as Beckett's removal from humanist dogma. Based on emotions "compounded of dependence and renunciation," Beckett's writing stance demonstrates itself as a detachment from the art form being employed, an isolation from the comforts of community, a display of cruelty attended at once by "tenderness, bitterness, and violence," a rage against problems of identity, and a "vision of life as purgatorial." From such a stance, writers from the "beginnings of the Irish contribution to writing in

English” have infused their works with a certain nonsentimentality about life that is consistently different from optimistic, progressive, authorial viewpoints based on modern humanistic assumptions (“Beckett’s Irish Roots” 29-33).

A third and obvious component of Beckett’s removal from humanist dogma is a non-involvement in the life of the flesh evidenced by the creation of physically deteriorating characters, by a repulsiveness assigned to sexuality, and by numerous scatological references. Kearney links Beckett with Swift in a common recoiling “in horror from this decadent world of mortals” (“The Demythologising Intellect” 280).

The following aspects of Beckett’s literary Irishness, then, have been noted in the critical discourse about the writings: the use of Gaelic folklore and myth, the affinity of the Beckettian dramatic voice with Irish intonation and speech rhythms, and Swiftian metaphysics at odds with Enlightenment premises. In the remainder of this essay I wish to focus on a fourth aspect that has thus far escaped critical notice—Beckett’s use of landscape in the practice of the Celtic poet. An excellent description of this practice—a practice widely commented on in criticism on Irish literature—occurs in an essay by Keith Sagar on Ted Hughes. Sagar defines Hughes as Celtic rather than Anglo-English by citing Hughes’ own emphasis on the shaping power of a childhood spent in a section of England (along the Calder River) that was the last area of the once-Celtic island to be claimed by the Angles. According to Hughes and Sagar, this childhood landscape was peculiarly Celtic, thus molding Hughes’ poetic identity as a Celtic rather than an English poet. Sagar states, “this landscape was imprinted on his [Hughes’] soul, and, in a sense, all his poems are about it” (4).

Our interest is in Sagar’s definitions of the Celtic poet’s use of landscape. Not simply “available as subject matter” or as setting, landscape—which “is likely to be...dramatic, insistent, and wild”—emerges as a “fund of vital images” and as a “paradigm for...understanding...life.” Furthermore, Sagar continues, this emergence of landscape for the Celtic poet is always “religious” because it expresses the “depths of the human psyche” and connects these depths with the “hidden sources of everything in the non-human world.” When landscape appears poetically as images of experience (“paradigms” of “life”), subconscious memories (“depths of the...psyche”), and links with the mysterious in nature (“hidden sources” of the “non-human”), it assumes a demonic or “dark” dimension. Sagar’s description of Hughes’ Celtic use of landscape defines this darkness as a “struggle” of life over death, healing over wounding, and expression over nothingness (2-3).

By common critical consensus, Beckett's writings in any genre are essentially poetic. We can note that his use of landscape, especially in the fiction, is arrestingly similar to Sagar's definitions of Celtic practice. Beckettian landscapes most often have their source in stored childhood memories deeply embedded in the consciousness of a narrator or character (in "depths of the...psyche"). Only in the earlier fiction are the scenes attached to named geographical areas. In the mature works, the scenes are mythical, everywhere and yet nowhere (imagistic rather than literal). Both as individual images and as collective symbol, they function ironically to create a narrative paradigm of human experience in which Beckett's people quest continually but unsuccessfully for a vanished Eden of order and beauty, a paradise never known except in mythic consciousness. The landscape symbolizes the possibility of a meeting of all human need and desire by some kind of transcendent enactment, but the possibility never materializes. Instead, nature always falls flat on its face. Thus, for Beckett, the Celtic poetic darkness of landscape becomes perpetual non-fulfillment rather than, as for Hughes, overcoming of a struggle.

One example of Beckett's literary assimilation of landscape in the Celtic pattern is his use of the Dublin mountains or hills west of Carrickmines, beyond Dun Laoghaire harbor, with the stone quarries cut out and the gorse fires burning along the slopes. As a boy Beckett hears from his home in Foxrock near Dublin the barking dogs and ringing hammers of the stonecutters who have lived for generations in these mountains. At night he watches from his bedroom window the lights of the intermittently burning gorse flickering from the hillsides (Mercier, *Beckett/Beckett* 58). These sounds and sights become permanently associated with the security of a child lying in his own bed in his family's home at night, safe from distant and unfamiliar situations. This repeated experience becomes part of a stock of memories for the writer Beckett.

References to what we recognize as the Dublin mountains with their stonecutters and gorse fires appear in three of Beckett's published fictional works.³ In no reference to these mountains, however, are they named or identified as any particular geographical area. Beginning in the novel *Watt* and becoming a definitive literary pattern by the time of the French writing of the late 1940s and early 1950s, Beckett's scenes detach themselves from any actual geography and become places in a mythical landscape that exists only in the language of the fiction and in the consciousness of the reader. That is, they become what Sagar calls "vital images" (2). For Beckett, however, the images are not of a

universal country but of a no-country. Existential homelessness becomes the point of origin for a journey inward through vague landscapes that are twilight zones of a no-man's land toward soulsapes of the mind that house not a self but a no-self. When any scene of this no-country becomes recognizably linked with a geographical site, that scene functions ironically to sever the protagonist (and reader) from whatever order, beauty, or security the geographical site should signify. The ironic functioning defines the image as "dark."

As irony, the three references to the Dublin mountains communicate anything but qualities associated with a child's home as haven. Like nearly all of Beckett's literary situations, these three passages describe insecurity, dread, loneliness, and resignation to despair. The reference to the mountains itself, however, is couched in lyrical language suitable to the childhood association of the image. The resulting effect is intensely ironic and resistant to any easy interpretation. Those of us familiar with Beckett's work know that this writer is not contrasting the difficulties of adulthood with the idealism of childhood. For the literary Beckett, childhood is a prelude to the unfulfillment of the rest of life. Nor is he offering the image as a symbol of some yet ungrasped but forthcoming desirable event that a hero or heroine will finally achieve. In Beckett's world the satisfaction of any desire leads merely to new want and unrequited need. Instead, the lyrical image simply lies ironically arranged on the page, contrasting with the bleak paragraphs or sentences of its context. The image points backward to a lost Eden that never existed, but also insists by its very presence some possibility, some "perhaps," that remains undefined and unrealized. As Kearney has said, Beckett's language may not refer to any reality beyond its own textual bleakness but it does not remain satisfied with this impoverishment: it waits for bestowal or completion (*Transitions* 76).

The first use of the image of the Dublin mountains is in Beckett's tight little story "First Love." A first-person account of the life of a man from the day he is evicted from his childhood home to that on which he is banished from his present dwelling by the cries of a newborn baby, the prose is almost unrelieved irony, describing a parody of what might be called a normal life cycle. Beneath the farce, however, exists what is not so much a satire of human love and life as an anguished lament that experience proves them to be as they are. The story defines love as a banishment and the events of human life as a cycle of death.

Early in the story, a single reference is made to mountains that can be seen from the top floor of the house where the narrator and a woman

live (13). This mentioning, however, is not developed as a foreshadowing. We hear nothing more of any objects outside the house. Instead, the objects and persons in the house interact with one another as if in a particularly vicious and nonsensical hell. The hero/narrator specifies:

From that day forth [the day he learns of the woman's pregnancy] things went from bad to worse, to worse and worse. Not that she neglected me, she could never have neglected me enough, but the way she kept plaguing me with *our* child, exhibiting her belly and breasts and saying it was due any moment, she could feel it pepping [sic] already. (18)

As the man is forced to look at, is given a "clear view" of the woman's developing "rotundities," he sees in his mind's eye other, more scenic rotundities—an image of what we recognize as the Dublin mountains of Beckett's childhood:

I saw the mountain, impassable, cavernous, secret, where from morning to night I'd hear nothing but the wind, the curlews, the clink like distant silver of the stone-cutters' hammers. I'd come out in the daytime to the heather and gorse, all warmth and scent, and watch at night the distant city lights, if I chose, and the other lights, the lighthouses and lightships my father had named for me, when I was small, and whose names I could find again, in my memory, if I chose, that I knew. (18)

No explanation of or justification for this mental image is offered. But the words remain, echoing in the reader's consciousness as he reads the hero's words which conclude the story:

As long as I kept walking I didn't hear them [the baby's cries] because of the footsteps. But as soon as I halted I heard them again, a little fainter each time, admittedly, but what does it matter, faint or loud, cry is cry, all that matters is that it should cease. For years I thought they would cease. Now I don't think so any more. (19)

The cries of the baby and the narrator's memory of the mountains of his own childhood persist beyond the closing lines of this text, echoing with possibilities of love and birth (life) that never occur.

The second occurrence of the mountain image is in another of Beckett's *Stories*, "The End." "The End" and its two companion stories—"The Expelled" and "The Calmative"—tell of an exiled hero who longs for a home and who suffers abuse from nearly all the elements that make up his world. Consequently, his responses become those of abuse or loathing, although he yearns for companionship. The episodes he relates are the result of the fact that words are all he has been given to fill space and time. His body is rotting away and repulsive with sores, disease, and disability. Detached mentally from this body, his mind is also deteriorating—even to a state of uncertainty as to whether he is alive or dead.

In "The End" the protagonist is banished from some place where he has been a ward of charity. He stays for a while in a basement, from which he is evicted also, although he agrees to room with a pig if allowed to stay. Leaving the town, he journeys toward the country, lives for a while in a cave by the sea and then in a cabin in the mountains. Finally reduced to begging, he progresses (mentally and physically) toward death in a shed by a river. The tale ends as he experiences a vision of himself (which may be what actually happens) floating out to sea in a boat. He removes the plug to allow the boat to sink, takes the sedative from the phial (received in "The Calmative"), and dies, or rather explodes into the sky and sea.

Because mountains are part of the actual landscape of this story, the occurrence of the mountain image here is more continuous and expected than that in "First Love." Another reason for this continuity and expectation is that the tone of "The End," while as bleak as that of "First Love," is not as ironic and bitter. Instead, its tone is one of confusion, bewilderment, and pain.

The hero sees mountains fitting the image of the Dublin mountains as he lies in the boat floating out to sea:

Now the sea air was all about me, I had no other shelter than the land, and what does it amount to, the shelter of the land, at such a time. I saw the beacons, four in all, including a lightship. I knew them well. It was evening, I was with my father on a height, he held my hand. I would have liked him to draw me close with a gesture of protective love, but his mind was on other things. He also taught me the names of the mountains. But to have done with these visions I also saw the lights of the buoys, the sea seemed full of them, red and green and to my surprise even yellow. And on the slopes of the mountain, now rearing its unbroken bulk behind the

town, the fires turned from gold to red, from red to gold. I knew what it was, it was the gorse burning. How often I had set a match to it myself, as a child. And hours later, back in my home, before I climbed into bed, I watched from my high window the fires I had lit. That night then, all aglow with distant fires, on sea, on land and in the sky, I drifted with the currents and the tides. (69)

But the lyrical sentences referring to the mountains change nothing in the story. The brief holding of the child's hand and abortive parental communication are submerged in a sea momentarily illuminated with color and light which is nonetheless a sea of death.

The third and last reference to stonecutters or fiery lights on the Dublin mountains in Beckett's fiction is in the second novel of the trilogy, *Malone Dies*. This hero, a bedridden person in a room in some sort of institution, is attempting to write stories to fill the time until he dies. An old woman brings his soup and a chamber-pot daily for awhile, but disappears from the tale. He loses his stick with which he has been maneuvering his few possessions, and some stranger visits him. Other than these happenings, the events of the novel are the contradictory, senseless, tragic, absurd situations that author Malone creates for his three characters—Sapo, Macmann, and Lemuel. Significantly enough, an image of the mountains is included in the "story" of each character.

Malone is tediously spinning the tale of Saps, a dolt of a peasant boy whom his creator cannot propel to enough fictional life to inhabit a narrative. As Malone briefly abandons his protagonist (who is wandering "from light to shadow, from shadow to light, unheedingly" [206]), the would-be writer seems "to have again the hearing of my boyhood." The sound he likes best in this reverie is the "barking of the dogs, at night, in the clusters of hovels up in the hills, where the stonecutters lived, like generations of stone-cutters before them." Not only does he hear in memory; he also sees:

From the hills another joy came down, I mean the brief scattered lights that sprang up on their slopes at nightfall, merging in blurs scarcely brighter than the sky, less bright than the stars, and which the palest moon extinguished. (206)

Author Malone eventually completely abandons Sapo, fabricating instead a more active but similarly grotesque character called Macmann. Along with Macmann, Malone brings to fictional life a monstrous

person, Lemuel, who is keeper in the asylum where Macmann is kept. On Easter Day Lemuel takes a party of inmates, including Macmann, on a picnic to an island. While with Macmann on the island, Lemuel watches mountains or hills, which

raise themselves gently, faintly blue, out of the confused plain. It was there somewhere he was born, in a fine house, of loving parents. Their slopes are covered with ling and furze, its hot yellow bells, better known as gorse. The hammers of the stone-cutters ring all day like bells. (286)

The nostalgic lyricism of this description is weighted with irony. The sadistic Lemuel murders or maims with a hatchet all of the group entrusted to his care, including Macmann, leaving them a “tangle of grey bodies....[s]ilent, dim...in a heap, in the night” (287). And shining over the scene are the “absurd lights, the stars, the beacons, the buoys, the lights of earth and in the hills the faint fires of the blazing gorse” (287). These fires have burned in Lemuel’s memory, and in Malone’s and Beckett’s literary memories. The blood will never dry on Lemuel’s hatchet, Malone says (287-88), a hatchet that changes easily into Malone’s stick, or the pencil with which he is writing his stories, stories of an Easter celebration that laments the absence of all that the Christian Resurrection implies about human experience (287-88).

We could trace other memories of the Irish landscape through Beckett’s fiction, and, if we wished, through his poetry and drama as well. Memories of sheep in pastures, of the sea, of gardens, of lovers in a boat, and of parents holding or rejecting a child’s hand. And persistently the memory occurs in the pattern of Celtic poetic use described. For Beckett, such language transcends image, and even symbol, to become symbolic myth, a graphic, lyrical rendering of what we sense to be our birthright but never possess. If Beckett abandons geographical and political/cultural Ireland, he does not abandon his memories of the landscape. Instead, memories of the Irish land, transformed by this writer’s unique ironic vision, become the material from which he crafts his art.⁴

NOTES

¹Harrington quotes this passage from Hanly’s novel (98-99) in *The Irish Beckett* (44).

²For thorough and comprehensive analyses of the question(s) of God in Beckett's work, especially the fiction, see my book *God, the Quest, the Hero: Thematic Structures in Beckett's Fiction*, North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, (Chapel Hill, 1988).

³In the chapter on the Dublin mountains in his photographic biography of Beckett, *The Beckett Country*, Eoin O'Brien collects thirty-six references to the mountains in Beckett's poems, drama, and fiction. Three of these are from the passages describing the burning gorse and stonecutters' hammering from "First Love" and "The End" dealt with in this essay. O'Brien does not include in this category of his book the descriptions I discuss of the mountains in *Malone Dies*.

⁴An earlier version of this essay was delivered at the American Conference for Irish Studies, Southern Regional Conference, February, 1991, at Montevallo College, Alabama.

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COUNTRY HOUSE ENTERTAINMENTS IN MILTON'S *PARADISE LOST*

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That Milton was personally familiar with traditional country house customs and entertainments is evinced in his *Arcades* and *Ludlow Mask*. In these works the poet praised the virtuous owners, the Dowager Countess Derby and the Earl of Bridgewater, and their landed estates. Both Harefield and Ludlow Castle are presented as estates where grace has entered the natural world. Guarded over by transcendental powers, the Genius of the Wood and the Attendant Spirit, these estates are "holier ground," enclaves where the divine will operates. The entertainment and masque, performed by members of the aristocratic households, honored the courtly ideals of those who resided at these country estates. During the turbulent years of the 1640s and 1650s, however, Milton wrote polemical tracts attacking the political and social assumptions of the ruling elite, their royalism, ancestry of titles, and hereditary privilege. Yet in *Paradise Lost*, Books 5-8, he returned to country house entertainments. Drawing on a varied range of resources, Milton revalued the courtly ideals expressed in both manorial customs and literary models, especially in the country estate poems of Jonson, Carew, and Herrick.¹ It was a tendency of this genre, Leah S. Marcus observes, "to impose the imagery of the court upon a rural landscape."²

The purpose of my essay is to examine Milton's revaluation of the social ideals implicit in country house entertainments through his techniques of selection, modification, and transformation. The poet transforms these social ideals by removing them from the political ideology of the Stuart aristocracy and by raising them to a higher moral and spiritual level.

Ben Jonson concludes his paradigmatic country estate poem, "To Penshurst," by praising the exemplary aristocratic landowners, the members of the Sidney family. He says of the Sidney children that they have been taught religion

and may, every day,
Reade, in their virtuous parents noble parts,
The mysteries of manners, armes, and arts (96-8).

Interpreting these lines, Don E. Wayne focuses on the "natural Culture"³ of life at Penshurst. However, Jonson's word "mysteries"

has significance beyond nature and culture; it is his attempt to sacralize the poem. The word has a range of meaning from the ‘mysteries’ of a vocation, a secret social rite, to a religious truth known only through divine revelation. It prepares the reader, moreover, for the equally rich multivalence of the poem’s final lines:

Now, *Penshurst*, they that will proportion thee
 With other edifices, when they see
 Those proud, ambitious heaps, and nothing else,
 May say, their lords have built, but thy lord dwells
 (99-102).

The phrase “thy lord dwells” not only praises the paternal and benevolent landlord who resides on his estate, but also implies the supreme power of God who “dwells,” providentially regulating the ordered universe of which *Penshurst* is a microcosm.

These mysteries also have thematic importance in *Paradise Lost*, especially in the books that narrate the entertainments in Eden during Raphael’s visit with Adam and Eve. Both the country estate poem and *Paradise Lost* stress the “mystery of manners” through the theme of hospitality as an expression of benevolence, courtesy, and charity. Defining “Hospitality” in *Christian Doctrine*, Milton says it “consists of receiving under our roof, as providing for the kind reception of the poor and strangers,” and he cites several biblical passages, among them Hebrews 13:2: “Be not forgetful to entertain strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares.”⁴ In Eden the stranger who is entertained is “the Godlike Angel”⁵ Raphael, and the hosts who receive him are Adam and Eve, our unfallen ancestors.

Hospitality is shown in the host’s preparation, greeting, and the various entertainments for his noble guest. The traditional entertainments at the country house included banqueting, civilized social discourse, and masquing.

Both “To *Penshurst*” and *Paradise Lost*, Book 5 place considerable emphasis on domestic activity, including the hostess’ preparation. In “To *Penshurst*” Jonson’s description of Lady Sidney creates what Wayne calls a “heightened degree of domesticity” (Wayne, 114).⁶ She reaps “the just reward of her high huswifery” (85) in expectation of her guests. She has “her linnen, plate, and all things nigh” (86). Similarly, Milton describes Eve hastening “to entertain” (5.328) the expected visitor. As Adam has suggested to her, she will “bring forth and pour/ Abundance, fit to honor and receive” (5.314-15) the heavenly stranger. After turning “on hospitable thoughts intent/ What choice to

choose for delicacy best" (5.332-33), she plucks fruit, "ripe for use" (5.324). Then she heaps the board "with unsparing hand" and prepares her "fit vessels pure" (5.345-47).

A major way in which Milton elevates the social ideals of the country house is to model Adam's entertainment on the biblical account of Abraham's entertainment of the angels. Suggesting the image of Abraham as "he sat in the tent door in the heat of the day" (Genesis 18:1) just before he greets his three angelic visitors, Milton describes Adam, awaiting the arrival of their guest, sitting "as in the door...Of his cool Bow'r," away from the "fervid Rays" of the hot sun (5.299-301). Just as Abraham tells his wife to make ready, and then personally prepares for his guests, so Adam and Eve arrange things in readiness for their angelic guest.

The poet emphasizes the simplicity and purity of the biblical model by contrasting it with the debasing of hospitality by the Stuart aristocracy, who provide elaborate and showy entertainments at their country houses. He describes Adam greeting his visitor:

Meanwhile our Primitive great Sire, to meet
His god-like Guest, walks forth, without more train
Accompanied than with his own complete
Perfections; in himself with all his state,
More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
On Princes, when thir rich Retinue long
On Horses led, and Grooms besmear'd with Gold
Dazzles the crowd, and sets them all agape (5.350-57).

In contrast to the "tedious pomp" of the elaborate Royal Progress and visits in the fallen world, Adam meets the angel simply, naturally, with manliness and integrity, "all his state."

The naked Adam has greater dignity than the affectation and obsequiousness of the courtier with his trappings and flattery. There is courteous decorum, however, in Adam's greeting:

Nearer his presence *Adam* though not aw'd,
Yet with submiss approach and reverence meek,
As to a superior Nature, bowing low (5.358-60).

Like the lord of a great estate greeting an exalted monarch, Adam ceremonially welcomes a far more exalted angel of God. His greeting is not awed or fearful, but expressed with "native Honor clad/ In naked majesty" (4.289-90) and self-possessed grace.

Milton in *Paradise Lost* includes the manorial custom of the feast for the noble guest. The dining scene in Book 5 shares many of the motifs of country estate poems, the plenitude of nature, the hospitality of the lord, and the relaxation of hierarchy. Scenes of feasting symbolize the inexhaustible bounty of the landed estate and the largesse of the lord and lady. At Penshurst Sir Robert Sidney's "liberall boord doth flow" (59), and all are welcome to partake of his natural wealth and "housekeeping." Consumption of his bounty in the form of food and drink express a sharing in the moral, social, and natural order.

In the dining room of Hardwick Hall, one of the ostentatious houses to which Carew may be alluding in "From Wrest," the plasterer modelled a life-size Ceres with overflowing cornucopia above the chimney-piece. This is an apt decorative emblem in a room where the bounty of nature is to be fully enjoyed.⁷ However, Carew emphasizes "real use," and says the architect of Wrest "made things not fine,/ But fit for service" (55-7). Therefore Amalthea and her horn of plenty, Bacchus, and Ceres "with a crook'd sickle in her hand" are not an artist's carvings in stone or marble, mere "emblems to the eyes," but "useful deities" who are immanent in the wine and bread: "We press the juicy god and quaff his blood/ And grind the yellow goddess into food" (57-68).

Herrick in "To Pemberton" compares the lord to Jove, "the *Hospitable God*" (61) who enjoys seeing his guests eating and drinking at his table. Here there is a full board of "choice viands" (67). The poet is specific in listing some of the foods served at Rushden. For meat, there are "mighty Chines" (7), "large Ribbes of Beefe" (9), bullocks thighs, veal, and fat mutton; for poultry, pheasant, partridge, quail, and much else. As Lawrence Stone has demonstrated in *The Crisis of Aristocracy*, there was a "sustained carnivorous orgy" at aristocratic households where tremendous quantities of meat and poultry were consumed. "The stupendous cost of the banquet," he writes, was "partly due to the rarity of the dishes, partly to the exquisite refinement of cooking, and partly to the sheer exuberance of scale."⁸

It is clear, however, that the principles of communality and charity are important in the poets' praise of the lord's feasts. Wroth's "open hall," for example, allows "the rout of rurall folke" to "come thronging in" to share the "welcome grace" of Wroth's lady (49-53). At Dorrants hierarchy is relaxed because "freedom doth with degree dispense" (58). Herrick celebrates the "*Guest-rite*" at Rushden, and describes "the lanke-Stranger" and the "sowre Swain" who are given relief in the hall, "where both may feed, and come again" (11-12). The rural poor are not

chased away by the porter at the door, but "each may/ Take friendly morsels" (16-17). Leah S. Marcus in her chapter, "The Court Restored to the Country," makes reference to "the traditional custom of holiday offerings to the poor in the houses of the nobility and gentry" (Marcus, 81).⁹ In "To Saxham" Carew describes the winter season and the peasants' need for relief:

The cold and frozen air had starv'd
Much poor, if not by thee preserv'd,
Whose prayers have made thy table blest
With plenty, far above the rest (11-14).

The poor express their good will in their prayers at Saxham, and it has caused God to provide a full table. Carew's biblical images underscore the theme of sacrifice. The ox, lamb, and other creatures participate in the household's charity by willingly offering themselves to be eaten. A related image with religious associations is the "weary pilgrim" (38) who wanders in the night and is drawn to the warmth of the manor and the hospitality of the lord. Both lord and servant welcome this stranger, a rural vagabond or spiritual wayfarer roaming the countryside.

Jonson, Herrick, and Carew all stress the theme of *caritas* in their descriptions of manorial hospitality and feasts. These feasts are based on the mutual respect between master and the rest of the community, and therefore implicitly on God's love for man.

Although Milton's dining scene conforms in many ways with those of country estate poems, he radically transforms it by going to the source of all dinner scenes. He invests his scene of feasting with a spiritual significance not possible in the great hall of a worldly lord, and thus stresses the "mystery" of manners.

Milton's scene takes place not in a crowded hall, a place of the landowner's feudal power, but in a garden, a setting for an intimate conversation between angel and man "as friend with friend" (5.220). That it is a meal *al fresco* suggests its openness, naturalness, and simplicity. Eve at table "Minister'd naked" (5.442), and she has "no fear lest Dinner cool" (5.396). The table in the garden is "Rais'd of grassy turf" and "mossy seats had round" (5.391-92). In contrast to the "sustained carnivorous orgy" of the country house feast, Raphael will eat a temperate meal of savory fruits to please true appetite, and drink the unfermented juice of grapes rather than intoxicating wine to make "the smirk face...to shine" (Herrick, 72). Eve says that the feast that she has prepared will cause their angel guest to "confess that here on Earth/ God hath dispens't his bounties as in Heav'n" (5.329-30).

In "thir discourse at Table" (5. "Argument") Raphael discusses the relation between earth and heaven, the natural and the supernatural, the low and the high. Everything the Creator gives Mankind, he says to Adam and Eve, is "in part Spiritual" (5.405-6), exalting the natural world. Even the physical process of digestion becomes a spiritual act. Then the angel sits and eats with Adam and Eve, the three falling "to their viands" (5.433-34). The poet describes Raphael's eager desire to eat, "with keen dispatch/ Of real hunger, and concoctive heat/ To transubstantiate" (5.436-38). Milton's use of the word "transubstantiate," with its Eucharistic associations, describes the process by which nutriments "convert" to "proper substance" (5.492-93). It is suggested, then, that this dining scene is more than an occasion for communality; it is an occasion for communion.¹⁰ Adam and Eve participate with "the Godlike Angel" in a sacramental expression of thanks for God's favor. The table "Rais'd of grassy turf" is the Lord's Table; the meal they eat is a prelapsarian prefiguration of the Lord's Supper. This Supper illustrates Milton's view of the sacrament as sealing the Covenant of Grace (CR, XVI:205). "A sacrament," he writes in *Christian Doctrine*, "is a visible sign ordained by God, whereby he set his seal on believers in token of his saving grace," and "we on our part testify our faith and obedience to God with a sincere heart and a grateful remembrance" (CE, XVI:165).

Raphael promises Adam and Eve that if they continue to be obedient and steadfast in their love of God, the time may come when they "With Angels participate, and find/ No inconvenient Diet, nor too light fare" (5.494-95). The meal in the garden is the counterpart of the celestial banquet enjoyed by the angels. He describes "Heav'n's high feasts" (5.467) and banquet table "pil'd/ With Angels' Food" (5.632-33). There "They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet/ Quaff immortality and joy" (5.637-38). The sacramental aspects of words like "communion" and "transubstantiation" suggest that Milton's presentation of the meal is an example of *agape*, a spotless feast of charity (Jude:12). Taking the theme of charity from the country estate poem, he transposes it to a supernatural key.

The philosophical discussion between Raphael and Adam is a major episode in *Paradise Lost*, Books 5-8. Milton's presentation of the dinner conversation has a number of similarities with Clarendon's description of discussions at Sir Lucius Cary's country house at Great Tew. He writes that Lord Falkland had "a very plentiful estate,"¹¹ and kept open house at Great Tew. His guests were courtiers, lawyers, poets, and divines, scholarly men who shared Falkland's love of good

conversation and good living. John Aubrey writes that "his Lordship was acquainted with the best Wits" of Oxford, and the house at Great Tew "was like a colledge, full of Learned men."¹² He lists among the literary men Ben Jonson, Edmund Waller, Thomas Hobbes, William Chillingworth, and George Sandys, traveller and author of *Paraphrase Upon the Divine Poems*. Clarendon recalls the wonderful conversations enjoyed there. He says of Sir Lucius Cary, "Truly his whole conversation was one continued *convivium philosophicum*, or *convivium theologicum*, enlivened with all the facetiousness of wit, and good humor, and pleasantness of discourse, which made the gravity of the argument itself (whatever it was) very delectable." Further, Clarendon says that at Tew, "the lord of the house" met his guests at dinner or supper. "Otherwise," he observes, "there was no troublesome ceremony or constraint...to make them wearying of staying there"¹³ (Clarendon, 65). Raphael's conversation with Adam resembles Clarendon's description of Lord Falkland and his learned friends from Oxford and London visiting his country house. Such a resemblance comes from the likeness of social context, but Milton's narration of an angel of God discussing spiritual and moral subjects with unfallen Man in Eden can have no parallel in the fallen world. Indeed, Milton elevates the discussion through both its serious ideas and its participants.

Raphael first appears when God instructs him to converse "half this day" with Adam "as friend with friend" (5.229). He is to advise man "of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy at hand." The angel speaks with Adam about these subjects, and "whatever else may avail Adam to know" (5."Argument"), including the relation of spirit and matter, the *scala natura*, and free will. Responding to Adam's inquiries, Raphael narrates the epochs of divine history. Further, he explores with Adam in reasoned discourse other philosophical and theological matters, cosmology, epistemology, and human and divine love.

Raphael has been chosen among God's angels to visit Adam and Eve because he is "the sociable Spirit" (5.221). Good-tempered, friendly, truthful, and tactful, he exemplifies the Aristotelian virtues of social intercourse in *Nicomachean Ethics*. From the beginning through the conclusion of the visit, Raphael demonstrates in conduct and speech his angelic manners. He greets Eve with a holy salutation, "Hail mother of mankind," and blesses her fruitful womb (5.388-89). Then he pays a compliment to Adam about their Edenic state. "Adam," he says, "I therefore came, nor art thou such/ Created, or such place hast here to dwell,/ As many not oft invite, though Spirits of Heav'n/ To

visit thee" (5.372-75). Later, Raphael praises Adam for his rational understanding and ability to speak well: "Nor are thy lips ungraceful, Sire of men,/ Nor tongue ineloquent" (8.218-19).

Because their conversation is learned, lively, and pleasant, "the gravity of the argument," to use Clarendon's phrase, is communicated by Raphael with love, candor, and an understanding of human nature. Only when Adam reveals that he feels "Commotion strange" (8.531) because of Eve's beauty is there a perceptible change in the emotional atmosphere. Adam betrays his vulnerability and potential weakness in allowing his passion for Eve to have too much power over him, and Raphael reacts "with contracted brow," warning him: "Accuse not nature, she hath done her part;/ Do thou but thine" (8.560-62). This is followed by a tense moment when Adam questions Raphael about the sexual union of heavenly spirits. The angel flushes "Celestial rosy red" (8.619), but rather than abruptly terminating their discussion, he maintains his composure and good temper, and describes sexuality among the angels.

Raphael has set the sociable tone of civilized discourse in "one continual *convivium philosophicum*," and his respect for Adam's intellect, eloquence, and social decorum, gives their verbal exchange, with its sense of tension and intellectual play, a pleasantness as well as moral gravity.

After the feast, noble dignitaries visiting country houses were usually entertained by private theatricals, featuring spectacle, music and dancing. Barbara K. Lewalski notes that in *Paradise Lost* the poet reverses court practice by having the exalted guest supply the magnificent shows, The War in Heaven and The Creation.¹⁴ The angel appears as a kind of masquer himself, wearing an extravagant costume of six pair of wings "with downy Gold/ And colors dipt in Heav'n" (5.283-84). But Raphael does not need ornate and costly machinery. Through mysteries of arms and arts he elicits from his audience a sense of awe.

These mysteries are exemplified in Raphael's account of the War and Creation, which has many characteristics of the masque. Whereas his narrative of the War is like an antimasque, the story of the Creation is like the main formal masque. The War in Heaven shows a world of vice, misrule, and anarchy; the Creation shows divine goodness, order, and bounty.

In the antimasque Satan attempts to lead his troops of rebel angels in an armed insurrection against omnipotent God. The faithful angel Abdiel tells Satan that it is folly to rebel: "Food, not to think how

vain/ Against thy' Omnipotent to rise in arms" (6.135-36). Satan's folly, his envy and presumption, lay the groundwork for the "devilish Enginry" (6.553) and "foul disorder" (6.388) of the antimasque. The seditious angel will use "force and Machines" (6."Argument") in his futile attempt to vanquish the spiritual power and love of the Creator.

The 'Tournament' is "Wild work in Heav'n" (6.698), resembling "the loud misrule/ Of *Chaos*" (7.271-72). The narrator's style, moreover, continually shifts from excessively inflated diction to low punning and the use of alimentary and anal images describing "Intestine War" (6.259). These shifts express both the vainglory and baseness of the rebel angels, and contribute to the pervasive antic mood. Satan describes grotesque choreography, "Somewhat extravagant and wild" (6.616), and he gleefully anticipates disorder among the loyal angels once they have been fired upon by the rebels' artillery. Even more wild is the grand finale when the loyal angels tear up and lift hills "by the shaggy tops" (6.646) and then hurl them like missiles at their foes.

The righteous anger and justice of God are symbolized in the mystery of arms. The Father instructs his Son to ascend his Chariot and

bring forth all my War,
My Bow and Thunder, my Almighty Arms
Gird on, and Sword upon thy puissant Thighs
(6.712-14).

These "Almighty Arms" are not a "dev'lish machination" (6.504) concocted secretly at night with "Sulphurous and Nitrous Foam" (6.512), but the spiritual weapons of "the Lord mighty in battle" (Psalms 24:8). On the morning of the third day the Son appears in "the Chariot of Paternal Deity" (6.750),

and at his right hand Victory
Sat Eagle-wing'd, beside him hung his Bow
And Quiver with three-bolted Thunder stor'd (6.762-64).

The Son of God then commands the loyal angels:

Stand still in bright array ye Saints, here stand
Ye Angels arm'd, this day from Battle rest (6.801-02).

Then "Grasping ten thousand Thunders," the Son drives the Chariot toward the rebels. Satan and his troops drop "thir idle weapons," and

losing all resistance and courage, are driven from Heaven. Thus the Son brings an end to the War in Heaven.

Just as God creates cosmic peace out of anarchic war, so his Word creates cosmic order out of the confused matter of the universe. Out of the antimasque of anarchy and destruction, Raphael recreates the main masque of order and Creation, the mystery of divine art.

His account of the Creation and the Triumph of the Son evinces the influence of the formal masque, its scenic representation, glittering costumes, choreography, and music. Milton places great emphasis on visual spectacle and aural magnificence that express order, pattern, and baroque complexity. The theatrical design of the fourth day of creation, for example, offers a background of a "thousand thousand Stars...Spangling the hemisphere" (7.383-84). Then we see the Milky Way in a perspective set: "A broad and ample road, whose dust is Gold/ And pavement Stars" leading to "God's Eternal House" (7.575-79).

There are many gorgeous heraldic costumes adorning the newly created animals: fish that "Show to the Sun thir way'd coats dropt with Gold" (7.406), a peacock "whose gay Train/ Adorns him, color'd with the Florid hue/ Of Rainbows and Starry Eyes" (7.444-46), and winged insects "In all the Liveries deckt of Summer's pride/ With spots of Gold and Purple, azure and green" (7.478-79). Earth herself is "in her rich attire" and "Consummate lovely smil'd" (7.501-2). Nature participates in a formal dance of thanksgiving: "the stately Trees" in a joyful celebration "Rose as in dance" (7.324), and "the *Pleiades*...danc'd" (7.374) to the harmonies of Creation.

George Whetstone in *An Heptameron of Civil Discourses* (1582) described a week of feasting and discussion at the "stately Palace" of Queen Aurelia and "a chosen Company." He notes how each day ended with supper in the great chamber, followed by dancing and masquing. The next morning, he writes, he came out of his chamber "somewhat timely," and

entered the great chamber with as strange a regard, as he that cometh out of a house full of torch and taper lights, into a dark and obscure corner; knowing that at midnight (about which time I forsook my company) I left the place, attired like a second paradise: the earthly Goddesses, in brightness, resembled heavenly creatures, whose beauties dazzled men's eyes more than the beams of the sun; the sweet music recorded the harmony of the angels, the strange and curious devices in masques seemed as figures in divine mysteries. And to be short, the place was the very sympathy of an imagined paradise.¹⁵

This evocative description of the masque is suggestive of Milton's paradisaical masque in *Paradise Lost*, its "dazzling beauties," angelic harmonies, and "divine mysteries." Music and song in the theatrical spectacle of the Creation emphasize the divine mysteries of God's creating Word and the praise of angels.¹⁶

The harmony of celestial music is heard throughout the Creation. In contrast to the "odious din" (6.408) of the three-day Tournament, here there are the harmony and resonance of angels. Their choric hymn of praise, "Glory to him," accompanies the beginning of Creation, for God's "Wisdom had ordain'd/ Good out of evil to create" (7.184-88). On the first day of the Creation, celestial choirs celebrate the "Birth-day of Heav'n and Earth," filling "the hollow Universal Orb" with hymns and music of "thir Golden Harps" (7.256-58). Then a choir of angels on the sixth day praises God's "Master work" (7.504), Man "in the Image of God" (7.527). The angelic music on the Sabbath is given the fullest description, for here Raphael is most comprehensive and specific. His account of the Son's triumphant entry into Heaven after the Creation illustrates both the grandeur and ceremony of the formal masque, particularly in the use of music. Heaven resounds with a rising crescendo of harmonies from many instruments,

the Harp
Had work and rest not, the solemn Pipe
And Dulcimer, all Organs of sweet stop,
All sounds on Fret of String or Golden Wire
Temper'd soft Tunings (7.594-98).

Singing "Choral or Unison" (7.599), a host of angelic voices joyously pronounce the Son "greater now" (7.604) than in his return following the War in Heaven. The Son's great entry and his rising is described as a Triumphant Procession, "Follow'd with acclamation and the sound/ Symphonious of ten thousand Harps that tun'd/ Angelic harmonies" (7.557-61). The constellations, which like masque singers are personified, join in the celestial music, and "The Planets in thir station list'ning stood,/ While the bright Pomp ascended jubilant" (7.564-65). In the Triumph of the Son, Milton transcends the traditional country house masque and its Stuart ideology with his own celestial masque of mystical revelation.

In *Paradise Lost*, Books 5-8, Milton both dramatizes and defines the mysteries of manners, arms, and arts. The mystery of manners is exemplified by decorum, both social amenities and moral conduct. The mystery of arms is found in Raphael's story of "th'invisible exploits/

Of warring Spirits" (5.565), and the spiritual arms of the victorious Son. The mystery of arts "that may lift/ Human imagination" (6.298-99) is both Raphael's poetic account of the War and Triumph in Heaven, and the masque of Creation by the *deus artifex*. The 'mysteries' are all manifestations of the relationship between the physical and spiritual, human and divine. Raphael is the "Divine instructor" (5.546), an adept who initiates Adam into religious truths only known from divine revelation.

NOTES

¹Quotations from Jonson's "To Penshurst" and "To Sir Robert Wroth" are from *The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson*, ed. William B. Hunter, Jr. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963), pp. 77-84, Carew's "To Saxham" and "To My Friend GN from Wrest" from *Minor Poets of the Seventeenth Century*, ed. R. G. Howarth (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1953), pp. 85-86 and 134-137, and Herrick's "Panegyrick to Sir Lewis Pemberton" from *The Poetical Works of Robert Herrick*, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 145-149. Subsequent references and line numbers appear in parenthesis in my text.

²*The Politics of Mirth: Jonson, Herrick, Milton, Marvell and the Defense of Old Holiday Pastimes* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1986), p. 241.

³*Penshurst: The Semiotics of Place and the Poetics of History* (Madison: The U of Wisconsin P, 1984), p. 64.

⁴*The Works of John Milton*, ed. Frank Allen Patterson *et al.*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931-39), XVIII, pp. 381-383. Subsequent references are within my text as CE.

⁵Citations from Milton's poetry in my text are to *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (New York: Odyssey Press, 1957), 7.10. Subsequent references are within my text.

⁶*Penshurst*, p. 114.

⁷Gervase Jackson-Stops and James Pipkin, *The English Country House. A Grand Tour* (Boston: Little Brown, 1985), p. 120.

⁸Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of Aristocracy. 1558-1642* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), pp. 597-600.

⁹*The Politics of Mirth*, p. 81.

¹⁰John C. Ulreich, Jr., "Milton on the Eucharist: Some Second Thoughts about Sacramentalism," in *Milton and the Middle Ages* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell UP, 1982), pp. 37-44.

¹¹*Selections from "The History of the Rebellion and Civil War" and "The Life by Himself,"* ed. G. Huehns (London: Oxford UP, 1955), p. 51.

¹²*Aubrey's Brief Lives*, ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (London: Penguin Books, 1987), p. 154. See Kurt Weber, *Lucius Cary, Second Viscount Falkland* (New York: Columbia UP, 1940).

¹³*Selections*, p. 65.

¹⁴"*Paradise Lost*" and the Rhetoric of Literary Forms (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1985), pp. 207-208.

¹⁵Quoted in Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1978), pp. 83-84.

¹⁶See John G. Demaray's discussion of the poet's "presentation of grand, ceremonial, masquelike Triumphs in Heaven" in *Milton's Theatrical Epic: The Invention and Design of Paradise Lost* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1980), p. 86.

**ROBIN HOOD'S "IRISH KNIFE":
IRONY IN THE *GUY OF GISBORNE*
BALLAD**

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What is history but a fable agreed upon?¹
—Napoleon Bonaparte

The following discussion reviews the double reference to an Irish knife in the fifteenth century English ballad entitled *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne* (118).² The interest of the Irish people in the Robin Hood legend is noted, as well as is the recent academic summons to research the *Guy of Gisborne* ballad. Ironic exploitation of language in that ballad is compared with similar authorial devices in the fifteenth century English ballad *A Geste of Robyn Hode* (117).³ Scrutiny hereafter of the *Guy of Gisborne* ballad is incumbent upon students of literature and history to help resolve the dates of composition of the ballad and of a parallel dramatic fragment.

The ballads collected by Francis James Child remain the standard work and the foundation of modern studies of the ballads.⁴ This discussion therefore follows the usual practice of ascribing Child's title and number to the Robin Hood ballads mentioned.⁵

The Irish and the Robin Hood Legend

A reference to Ireland in the Robin Hood ballads is arresting. Classification by nationality of the ballads which are generally from Great Britain is, ordinarily, challenging. In fact, the Robin Hood ballads represent the *only* clear cases, because they have a history exclusively English.⁶ Some persons even argue that Robin Hood personifies the true Englishman.⁷

The Irish did enjoy at least some of the Robin Hood ballads.⁸ And the sixteenth century *Irish Chronicle* relates:

There standeth in Ostmantowne greene an hillocke
named little Iohn hys shot. The occasion proceeded of
this. In the yere 1189 there ranged three robbers and
outlawes in England, among which Robert hoode and
little Iohn were chiefetaines, of all theefes doubtlesse the
most courteous. Robert hoode beyng betrayed at a
Noonry in Scotland, called Bricklies, the renmaunt of the

crue was scattered, and euery man forced to shift for himselfe. Wherupon little Iohn was fayne to flie the realme, by sayling into Ireland, where he soiourned for a few dayes at Dublin. The citizens beyng done to vnderstand the wanderyng outcast to be an excellent archer, requested hym hartily to trie how far he could shoote at randone. Who yeldyng to their behest, stoode on the bridge of Dublin, and shotte to that mole hill, leauyng behynde him a monument, rather by his posteritie to be woondered, then possibly by any man liuyng to be counterscored. But as the repayre of so notorious a champion to any countrey would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed; and therefore, to eschew the daunger of lawes, he fled into Scotland where he dyed at a towne or Village called Morany.⁹

Ireland, by one account, affords the site of Little John's grave.¹⁰ Two centuries ago Joseph Ritson quoted the *Irish Chronicle* when Ritson recorded that upon Robin Hood's death Little John fled to Ireland.¹¹ Ritson quoted a "Mr. Walker"¹² to the effect that on Arbor-hill, Dublin, Little John was executed publicly for robbery.¹³ But the Irish lack proof of either Little John's Dublin execution or his grave.¹⁴ The stories presumably were devised because Ireland desired some association with the popular ballad figures.¹⁵

The Irish knife in *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne* has not much attracted scholarly comment. It goes unremarked upon by Dr. J.W. Walker,¹⁶ Professor John Bellamy,¹⁷ Maurice Keen¹⁸ of Oxford's Balliol College (in whose work the ballad is well-discussed),¹⁹ David Wiles,²⁰ Jim Lees,²¹ Professor Douglas Gray,²² Professor R.B. Dobson and J. Taylor,²³ or even the authoritative Professor Sir James C. Holt of Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge.²⁴ Both P. Valentine Harris²⁵ and David Crook²⁶ mention the Irish knife phrase in their discussions of the ballad. Nonetheless, they fail to further appraise those two words.

The Irish knife disappears completely from varied modern fictional workings of this ballad's Robin Hood-Guy of Gisborne woodland incident. Numbered among these is the feminist interpretation²⁷ by Robin McKinley.²⁸ They also include the imaginative²⁹ rendering of ballad materials by David Stuart Ryan.³⁰

The Call to Investigate the Guy of Gisborne Ballad

The earliest Robin Hood tales cry out yet for modern linguistic analysis.³¹ Since the mid-nineteenth century, scholars bidding to ascertain the origins of the Robin Hood legend have focused especially³² upon *A Geste of Robyn Hode*.³³ Unprecedented attention in recent years has been dedicated to the *Geste*.³⁴ However, none of the other major Robin Hood ballads has undergone detailed literary analysis for over a century.³⁵

At least some circumstantial reason to suppose there was an actual Robin Hood is seen in Eric Hobsbawm's confession: "No real original Robin Hood has ever been identified beyond dispute, whereas all other bandit-heroes I have been able to check, however mythologized, can be traced back to some identifiable individual in some identifiable locality."³⁶ As will be seen shortly, Robin Hood can be tracked to his lair in the identifiable locality of Barnesdale.

In 1987, David Crook suggested that the roots of Robin Hood's legend might be found in the July 1225³⁷ manhunt by a team of sergeants led by William the Vinter for the outlaw Robert of Wetherby. The King had authorized Eustace of Lowdham,³⁸ the then-Sheriff of Yorkshire³⁹ (and in 1233 the Sheriff of Nottingham)⁴⁰ to break Robert.⁴¹ Eustace, Sheriff of Yorkshire, was a Nottinghamshire native,⁴² who had taken his name from the village of Lowdham in Nottinghamshire.⁴³ The common person's notion of Sherwood Forest not only encompassed two-thirds of Nottinghamshire, but spilled over into Lincolnshire, Derbyshire...and Yorkshire.⁴⁴

Some parallel of the July 1225 Robert of Wetherby manhunt with the *Guy of Gisborne* ballad's fair-weather manhunt by Guy of Gisborne and the Sheriff of Nottingham for Robin Hood is plain. (To be sure, it is ever fine weather in the forest of the ballads.⁴⁵) The initial lines of the *Guy of Gisborne* ballad relate (of "shaws" and "shradds", i.e., woods and twigs):⁴⁶

When shaws been sheene, and shradds full fayre,
And leaves both large and longe,
Itt is merrie walkyng in the fayre forrest,
To heare the small birdes songe.

The woodweele sang, and wold not cease,
Sitting upon the spraye,
Soe lowde, he wakened Robin Hood,
In the greenwood where he lay.⁴⁷

And, indeed, there allegedly are no *literary* analogues to *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*.⁴⁸ This ballad clearly incorporates a medieval tradition, and is among the most tragic and violent of items in the whole body of outlaw ballads. It is wholly devoid of the earthy humor of most Robin Hood ballads.⁴⁹ These three points comport with the notion that Robert of Wetherby's history is the nucleus of *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*.

Robert of Wetherby apparently was caught and executed (beheaded, like the ill-starred Guy of Gisborne).⁵⁰ The 1225 date of his downfall squares with the requisite timeframe for the genesis of the Robin Hood story. The span 1261-1262 constitutes the *terminus ante quem*.⁵¹ Contemporary records indicate that by those two years the name "Robehod"⁵² had become synonymous with fugitive⁵³ or outlaw.⁵⁴

The initial mention of Sherwood Forest⁵⁵ in writing was in 1154.⁵⁶ William Peverel, the younger, during that year controlled the forest⁵⁷ and held profits⁵⁸ under the crown.⁵⁹ In 1155 the forest lapsed to the king when the Peverel estates were forfeited. It then⁶⁰ was administered by the successive sheriffs of the joint counties of Derby and Nottingham, who commonly were called "Sheriff of Nottingham;" each county came to have its own sheriff appointed only in the time of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603). This might explain the popular hostility to a sheriff who in the medieval sources lacks a personal name, and is only a title.⁶¹

Because the *Geste* is the best-analyzed item in the Robin Hood cycle, merit might lie in a brief look at some recent commentary thereon. This could facilitate a search for an analogous exploitation of one or another literary device in *Guy of Gisborne*. The more fully either the *Geste* or *Guy of Gisborne* becomes explicable as a merely literary artifact, the less either might remain persuasive evidence of an underlying historical Robin Hood like Robert of Wetherby.

Irony in the *Geste* Ballad

Professor Gray convincingly has exposed a pattern of irony respecting Robin's devotion to the Virgin Mary in the *Lytell Geste*.⁶² Early therein Little John asks what are the outlaw band's standing orders. These present what has been styled (by R.B. Dobson and J. Taylor) Robin's "policy statement."⁶³

George Swan

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“Mayster,” than sayd Lytell Johan,
“And we our borde shall sprede,
Tell us whether we shall gone,
And what lyfe we shall lede;

“Where we shall take, where we shall leve,
Where we shall abide behynde,
Where we shall robbe, where we shall reve,
Where we shall bete and bynde.”⁶⁴

Robin, in part, responds:

“These byshoppes, and thyse archebyshoppes,
Ye shall them bete and bynde;
The hye sheryfe of Notynghame,
Hym holde in your mynde.”⁶⁵

Gray explains⁶⁶ that the *Geste* relates how Robin Hood and Little John share this exchange in the forest:

“Go we to dyner,” said Lytell Johan;
Robyn Hode sayd, “Nay;
For I drede our lady be wroth with me,
For she sent me not my pay.”⁶⁷

Robin sends John and Much, the miller’s son, to the highway to waylay some passersby. They spy a party of mounted monks:

Then bespake Lytell Johan,
To Much he gan say,
“I dare lay by lyfe to wedde,
That these monkes have brought our pay.”⁶⁸

The outlaws intercept the monks and carry them to Robin’s lodge, where Little John spreads one’s mantle:

Lytell Johan spred his mantell downe,
As he had done before,
And he tolde out of the monkes male
Eyght hundreth pounce and more.

Lytell Johan let it lye full styll,
And went to his mayster in hast;
“Syr,” he sayd, “the monke is trewe ynowe,
Our lady hath doubled your cost.”

ROBIN HOOD'S "IRISH KNIFE"

"I make myn avowe to god," sayd Robyn,
"Monke, what tolde I the?
Our lady is the trewest woman
That ever yet founde I me."⁶⁹

Robin depended upon Our Lady to succor him, and so she has: The robbed monk is of Saint Mary's Abbey!⁷⁰ Robin's dedication is, superficially, real enough.⁷¹ Nevertheless, irony fills the background of the story insofar as it regards his devotion.⁷² Is there reason to suspect that even realistic-sounding details in *Guy of Gisborne* might have been inserted, not as reflection of historical reality, but to conjure an atmosphere of irony?

The Guy of Gisborne Ballad

*Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*⁷³ opens with Robin Hood and Little John in the greenwood. Robin admits to a troubling dream:

"Now, by my faye," sayd jollye Robin,
"A sweaven I had this night;
I dreamt me of tow wight yemān,
That fast with me can fight.

"Methought they did mee beate and binde,
And tooke my bowe mee froe;
Iff I be Robin alive in this lande,
Ile be wroken on them towe."⁷⁴

Both later sight an armed yeoman.⁷⁵ They then fall out when John proposes alone encountering the yeoman:⁷⁶

"Stand you still, master," quoth Little John,
"Under this tree so grene,
And I will go to yond wight yeoman,
To know what he doth meane."

"Ah! John, by me thou settest noe store,
And that I farley finde:
How oft send I my men beffore,
And tarry my selfe behinde?

It is no cunning a knave to ken,
And a man but heare him speake;
And itt were not for bursting of my bowe,
John, I thy head wold breake."

George Swan

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As often wordes they breeden bale,
So they parted Robin and John;
And John is gone to Barnesdale;
The gates he knoweth eche one.⁷⁷

Their quarrelsome words engender “bale,” meaning “mischief”⁷⁸ or “misery.”⁷⁹

John encounters two of his companions dead in a glade, and Will Scarlett fleeing on foot from the Sheriff of Nottingham and his men. John intervenes and shoots dead William of Trent, one of the sheriff’s company. Yet John is overpowered:

But as it is said, when men be mett
Fyve can doe more than three,
The sheriffe hath taken Little John,
And bound him fast to a tree.⁸⁰

Robin meanwhile confronts the yeoman, who says he hunts the outlaw Robin Hood:

‘I seeke an outlaw,’ quoth Sir Guye,
‘Men call him Robin Hood;
I had rather meet with him vpon a day
Then forty pound of golde.’⁸¹

After the yeoman eventually identifies himself as Guy of Gisborne, Robin reveals his own identity: “I am Robin Hood of Barnesdale, whom thou so long has sought.”⁸²

They fight with blades, and Robin slays and beheads Guy:

Robin pulled forth an Irish kniffe,
And nicked sir Guy in the face,
That he was never on woman born
Cold tell whose head it was.

Sayes, “Lye there, lye there now, sir Guye,
And with me be not wrothe;
Iff thou have had the worse strokes at my hand,
Thou shalt have the better clothe.”⁸³

Robin (after clothing himself in garments from Guy’s corpse) joins the Sheriff. The disguised Robin-as-Guy claims to have killed Robin Hood. Offered any reward by the Sheriff, Robin-as-Guy asks only to

kill the bound Little John. The Sheriff, who would have rendered Guy "a knights ffee,"⁸⁴ readily agrees:

But Robin pulled forth an Irysh knife,
And losed John hand and foote,
And gave him sir Guyes bow into his hand,
And bade it be his boote.

Then John he took Guyes bow in his hand,
His boltes and arrowes eche one:
When the sheriffe saw Little John bend his bow,
He fettled him to be gone.

Towards his house in Nottingham towne
He fled full fast away,
And soe did all the companye,
Not one behind wold stay.

But he cold neither runne soe fast,
Nor away soe fast cold ryde,
But Little John with an arrowe soe broad
He shott him into the backe-syde.⁸⁵

In *Guy of Gisborne* Robin's band firmly is enplaced in Barnesdale⁸⁶ ("John is gone to Barnesdale"), not Sherwood. But Barnesdale⁸⁷ plainly is quite separable from the forest wherein Guy and Robin share their showdown.⁸⁸ This ballad is deeply impacted with forest themes.⁸⁹ The obvious source thereof is Sherwood.⁹⁰ Sherwood Forest⁹¹ lay between Barnesdale⁹² and Nottingham⁹³ ("Towards his house in Nottingham towne").

The noun "Irish" as a synonym for passion or temper has been dialectical.⁹⁴ It came to be invoked dialectically for passion, fury, rage or anger in both eastern Yorkshire and western Yorkshire.⁹⁵ Recall how Robin revealed himself to Guy of Gisborne: "I am Robin Hood of Barnesdale, whom thou so long has sought."⁹⁶ Barnesdale, seven miles north of Doncaster, lay in the West Riding of Yorkshire.⁹⁷ And Gisborne (or Gisburn) was a market town in the West Riding of Yorkshire.⁹⁸

Ironies in the Guy of Gisborne Ballad

A. The Irish Knife

1. The Old French Connection

Robin mutilates Guy with an "Irish knife." He frees Little John with this "Irysh knife." It long-hitherto has been suggested (outside this immediate context) that the Middle English adjective "Irish" refers to Ireland, with a pun on the Old French *irais*. And *irais* means bad-tempered or wrathful.⁹⁹

Robin's knife in disfiguring Guy serves as an instrument of wrath (ire) against Guy of Gisborne. Thereupon Robin immediately "Sayes, 'Lye there, lye there now, sir Guye, and with me be not wrothe;....'" It is Robin's, not Guy's, wrath which at once is given vent. Robin's knife in subsequently unbinding Little John unleashes John's wrath (ire) at once against the Sheriff of Nottingham.

When first they spot Guy, Little John claims the initiative and directs Robin: "Stand you still, master, under this tree so grene,...." Robin aggressively rejects so standing passive. Before the tale is done, it is the chastened subordinate John who will stand idly by ("still") beneath a tree ("bound him fast to a tree"). At that juncture it is Robin who with his Irish knife aggressively seizes the initiative.

The *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne* balladeer already had informed his audience that "often words they breeden bale." The proper adjective "Irish" indeed signalled misery ("bale") forthcoming to Guy and the Sheriff through Robin's knife.

Nevertheless, what likelihood is there that the pun, *irais*, actually called up ironic undertones for the medieval audience through *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*? After all, not only is the entire corpus of Robin Hood ballads "of" England, but the stories are in English. There is not any evidence that the Robin Hood story was told in Latin, Anglo-Norman, French, or any other tongue.¹⁰⁰

"Ire"¹⁰¹ or "ire"¹⁰² itself was used in Middle English or Anglo-Saxon to signify ire or wrath. And the Wyclif Bible presents in Proverbs 15:1, "A soft answer brekith ire;...."¹⁰³ It offers in Deeds of Apostles 19:28, "Whanne these thingis weren herd, thei weren fillid with ire,...."¹⁰⁴ And in Proverbs 30:33 one discovers, "[H]e that stirith iris, bringith forth discordis."¹⁰⁵

The version of the "Wyclif" Bible quoted herein was revised around 1388 by John Purvey.¹⁰⁶ John Wyclif's Bible was the first to

encompass any major portion of scripture in the English language. This work was widely circulated among the laity until the reign of Henry the Eighth (1509-1547).¹⁰⁷ The post-1388 audience of *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne* well might appreciate how Robin's blade of "iris, bringith forth discordis."

2. The Middle Scots Connection

During October 1316 a hundred pounds was promised for "any deed committed against Edward de Brus, a rebel,...by which he may lose life or limb."¹⁰⁸ In the October 14, 1318, Battle of Faughart, the army of King Edward II of England (led by John de Bermingham) opposed a Scottish army of King Robert I of Scotland (led by his brother Sir Edward Bruce). In this major battle Edward Bruce and many Scots fell.¹⁰⁹ The slain Edward Bruce was discovered beneath another corpse.¹¹⁰ A special messenger was dispatched at once with word of a great English victory and of Edward Bruce's death.

The head of Edward Bruce was sent by John de Bermingham to King Edward II. The English monarch rewarded de Bermingham with the barony of Ardee and the new earldom of Louth.¹¹¹ The remainder of Bruce's body was quartered. His quarters were transported to various locales.¹¹²

Archdeacon of Aberdeen John Barbour (d. 1394 or 1395)¹¹³ authored *The Bruce*, an historical verse romance of *circa* 1375¹¹⁴ in Middle Scots.¹¹⁵ The most recent study thereof, Professor R. James Goldstein's 1993 *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland*,¹¹⁶ reports a date of authorship of during or about early 1376.¹¹⁷ According to *The Bruce*, Sir Edward Bruce's armor was worn at the Battle of Faughart by Gib Harper:

Schir Eduard that day wald nocht ta
His cot-Armour, bot gib harper,
That men held [as] withouten peir
Of his estat, had on that day
All haill schir Edwardis aray.¹¹⁸

The victorious troops at Faughart sought Sir Edward Bruce's head, but mistakenly took that of Gib Harper, which they put into salt and sent to King Edward II:

George Swan

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And thai, that at the fechtng weir,
 Soucht schir Eduard, to get his hede,
 Emange the folk that thar ves ded;
 And fand gib harper in his ger.
 And, for sa gude his armys wer,
 Thai strak his hed of, and sy e it
 Thai haf gert saltit in-till a kyt,
 And send it syne in-till Ingland,
 To Eduard king in-till presand.
 Thai wend schir Eduardis it had beye;
 Bot, for the armyng that wes scheyne,
 Thai of the hed dissauit war,
 All-thouch schir Eduard deit thar.¹¹⁹

It was Gib Harper's head, according to *The Bruce*, which reached and delighted Edward II:

And syne ha- send furth to the king,
 The Ingland had in gouernyng,
 Gib harperis hed in-till a e kyt.
 Ioh e mawpa- till the king had It,
 Quhilk he resauit in gret dayntee;
 Richt blith of that present wes he;
 For he wes swa glad that he wes swa
 Deliuert of sic fellou e a faa.¹²⁰

But Goddard Henry Orpen discerns of Barbour's Gib Harper account: "The story is merely an attempt to spare the Scottish people the painful thought that their hero's body was mutilated and failed to obtain honourable burial."¹²¹ Compare this with David Crook's suggestion that the downfall of Robert of Wetherby was the kernel of *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*: "It is easy to see how an audience would have had more interest in a tale of an outlaw successfully defying and killing a sheriff and his hireling than a grimly realistic account of a fugitive hunted down and hung up by a chain."¹²²

Both Edward Bruce and Robin Hood were rebels or outlaws in defiance of the King of England or of his laws. Both hero Edward Bruce and hero Robin Hood carried bounties on their heads. Both Edward Bruce and Robin Hood confronted armed companies of the King's men. Both the stories of Edward Bruce and Robin Hood offer one man wearing another's armor/garments. Both Edward Bruce and Robin Hood are supposedly beheaded. The heads of both Edward Bruce and Robin

Hood are, supposedly, borne off to the authorities. Authorities in both stories are delighted with the false trophies.

But both Edward Bruce and Robin Hood—according to *The Bruce* and *Guy of Gisborne*—are not beheaded, because someone else actually had been. According to *Guy of Gisborne*, Robin Hood supposedly (but not actually) was decapitated with an Irish knife. According to *The Bruce*, Edward Bruce supposedly (but not actually) was decapitated after the Battle of Faughart. And the hill of Faughart rises in...Ireland.¹²³

That a Middle Scots poem might have fed into the English language Robin Hood ballads is imaginable. Two thirteenth century Anglo-Norman French works, about Fulk Fitz Warin and Eustace the Monk, probably afforded sources for Robin Hood's balladmakers. Jim Bradbury suggests that Scotland's Robert the Bruce (not the Robert who was brother to the slain Sir Edward) was himself the inspiration for the Robin Hood legend.¹²⁴

Nevertheless, what likelihood is there that the parallel with the catastrophe of Sir Edward Bruce in *The Bruce* actually provided ironic undertones for a (Barnesdale and Gisborne) West Riding of Yorkshire audience hearing *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*? Why would that audience smile in grim satisfaction on hearing their English hero vindicated via a storyteller's device previously utilized to vindicate Scotland's Edward Bruce?

King Edward II suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of King Robert I at Bannockburn on June 24, 1314. Robert raided England, sending Sir Edward to Ireland in 1315. There transpired what Goldstein styles "a series of devastating raids as far south as York."¹²⁵ But King Robert proved unable to penetrate farther south than...Yorkshire.¹²⁶ In fact, a real-life Robert Hood of Wakefield in Yorkshire (born *circa* 1290)—who once was speculated to be the source of the Robin Hood legend—was summoned in 1316 to a muster of King Edward's army against Scotland.¹²⁷

B. To Beat and Bind

Recall that in the *Geste* Little John questions Robin: "Where we shall robbe, where we shal reve, Where we shal bete and bynde."¹²⁸ Robin commands:

"These bysshoppes and these archebysshoppes,
Ye shall them bete and bynde;
The hye sherif of Notynghame,
Him holde ye in your mynde."¹²⁹

Compare this with Robin's relation to Little John in *Guy of Gisborne* of Robin's nightmare of two yeomen: "Methought they did mee beate and binde,...."¹³⁰

Joseph Ritson¹³¹, Edward Fithian¹³² and Professor Holt quoted Robin's words from the *Geste* without commenting on "bete and bynde."¹³³ The same recently was true of Jim Lees,¹³⁴ and it was so of the screenwriter James Goldman.¹³⁵ The phrase goes unanalyzed in the booklength study of the *Geste* by William Hall Clawson,¹³⁶ of no less highly respected a seat of medieval scholarship than the University of Toronto. This is notwithstanding that Clawson's contribution remains fundamental to study of this poetic text.¹³⁷

P. Valentine Harris looks to the phrase merely to compare the line¹³⁸ to a passage in the first surviving outlaw legend written in English,¹³⁹ *A Tale of Gamelyn*.¹⁴⁰

Why! Gamelyn was outlawed hadde he no cors;
There was no man that for him ferde the wors,
But abbotes and priours, monk and chanoun;
On hem left he no-thing, whan he might hem nom.¹⁴¹

Roberta Kevelson quoted Little John's inquiry simply to propose: "The allusions are clearly to the Old Testament Laws, in the Book of Deuteronomy."¹⁴²

Maurice Keen twice quotes Robin's instructions without appraisal of "bete and bynde."¹⁴³ The third time he quotes the passage Keen apparently takes it literally: "If ever anyone followed to the letter Robin Hood's advice to his men: 'These bishoppes and these arche bishoppes, Ye schal hem bete and bynde,' it was Wat Tyler's men who beheaded Simon of Sudbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, on Tower Hill."¹⁴⁴ University of Birmingham Professor of Medieval Social History R. H. Hilton likewise quoted Robin's advice only to take it literally.¹⁴⁵

However, so ferocious a reading of this verse is out of keeping with the ballads generally. Professor Bellamy explains that the outlaws of the *Geste* appear neither to utilize nor threaten violence: "The outlaws are incredibly polite; they are true gentlemen in the modern sense."¹⁴⁶ Harris refers similarly to "the kindly fellows of the *Lytell Geste*."¹⁴⁷

Thomas Love Peacock¹⁴⁸ proffered an alternative interpretation of "bete and bynde:"

Perhaps, however, this is to be taken not in a literal but in a figurative sense, from the binding and beating of wheat: for as all rich men were Robin's harvest, the bishops and archbishops must have been the finest and fattest ears among them, from which Robin merely proposes to thresh the grain when he directs them to be bound and beaten: and as Pharoah's fat kine were typical of fat ears of wheat, so may fat ears of wheat, *mutatis mutandis*, be typical of fat kine.¹⁴⁹

The Middle English verb "beten" means to thresh.¹⁵⁰ The Wyclif Bible teaches in Ruth 2:17 how Ruth threshed what she had gathered in the field before the evening: "Therefor sche gaderide in the feeld til to euentide; and she beet..."¹⁵¹

As early as March 1470, the verb *beten* even meant to thresh out in explication or argument. Then Sir John Paston wrote to John Paston, Esquire: "She rekkythe not howe many gentylmen love hyr; she is full of love. I have betyn the mater ffor yow, your onknowleche, as I told hyr."¹⁵² This is of particular interest because Sir John's correspondence of three years later may have referred to a play linked to the *Guy of Gisborne* ballad.¹⁵³

The Middle English verb "binden" means to bind sheaves.¹⁵⁴ The Wyclif Bible relates at Genesis 37:7 how Joseph told his brothers "...we bounden to gidere handfuls..."¹⁵⁵ It adds at Matthew 13:30 Jesus' parable of the tares and the wheat: "...the taris, and bynde hem to gidere in knytechis to be brent,...."¹⁵⁶

Remember the solicitation of Robin's standing orders in the *Geste*. Little John queried "Where we shall robbe, where we shal reve, Where we shal bete and bynde." By connecting where to rob and to reve (despoil)¹⁵⁷ with where to "bete and bynde," John signified that the latter phrase concerned larceny, not battery. Sure enough, in the *Geste*, the outlaw band does not tie up and batter its clerical guests. Instead, Little John extracts from a monk eight hundred pounds and more. Robin's band thus threshes the Church of its gold. This tends to fulfill their chieftain's injunction to "bete and bynde" the bishops and archbishops.

In *Guy of Gisborne*, Guy is a bounty hunter who prefers taking Robin over having forty pounds of gold. The Sheriff of Nottingham would reward Guy with a knight's fee for killing Robin. Guy probes the forest intending to thresh Guy's fortune from Robin. Guy thus

aims to “beate and binde” Robin, only to be himself outmatched and undone. The *Geste* and references to beating and binding *Guy of Gisborne* represent words that “breeden bale”: They are less about thrashing than about threshing.

This irony previously has not been obvious to critics because the historical background of the Robin Hood legends has during this past generation been greatly illuminated by British historians like Keen, Holt, Hilton, and Dobson and Taylor.¹⁵⁸ P. Valentine Harris is, likewise, an historian.¹⁵⁹ The Yorkshire antiquary,¹⁶⁰ Dr. Walker (of the Yorkshire Archeological Society¹⁶¹ and a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society) was a local historian¹⁶² who dedicated his book to the Yorkshire Archeological and the Wakefield Historical Societies. Jim Lees is founder and Life President of the Robin Hood Society.¹⁶³ Professor John Bellamy taught medieval history at Carleton University in Ottawa when Bellamy published his *Robin Hood: An Historical Enquiry*.¹⁶⁴

It is unfortunate that these history scholars, all of whom wrote long post-Thomas Love Peacock, failed to develop his lead as fully as possible despite their interest in the legend. And literary scholars have failed to display any corresponding interest.¹⁶⁵ It took a novelist (not screenwriter) like Peacock to elaborate upon the balladeers’ double meaning. What champion of freedom, today, heroically fixes to relieve the oppressed by throttling an Archbishop?

The Dating Controversy

There is a seemingly fragmentary interlude¹⁶⁶ variously denominated “Robin Hood and the Knight,”¹⁶⁷ or “Robin Hood and the Sheriff,”¹⁶⁸ or “Robin Hood and the Sheriff of Nottingham.”¹⁶⁹ This seeming fragment lies today in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge.¹⁷⁰ It commonly is argued that the script derives from Sir John Paston’s household.¹⁷¹ Plays of Robin Hood were performed there in 1473.¹⁷² By a letter to John Paston, Esquire, of April 16, 1473, Sir John alludes to a man whom Sir John had kept that “yer to playe Seynt Jorge and Robyn Hod and the Shryff off Notynham, and now when I wolde have good horse he is goon into Bernysdale,....”¹⁷³ It is hard to deny that Paston’s words are properly identified with the Trinity College script.¹⁷⁴

The single piece of paper includes play dialogue plus account entries of sums received during 1475-1476; the dialogue is in a fifteenth

century hand.¹⁷⁵ Because the dialogue resembles *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne*, it almost universally is supposed to be a play derivative from the ballad.¹⁷⁶ There is likewise a solitary copy of the ballad.¹⁷⁷ First printed in 1765,¹⁷⁸ the manuscript was written in the mid-seventeenth century.¹⁷⁹ The story, however, is certainly much older.¹⁸⁰

David Wiles in 1981 disputed the consensus respecting the relationship between these texts. He completely denied that the play had been adapted from any known ballad.¹⁸¹ Wiles identifies difficulties in tying the Trinity College document to the ballad. Wiles posits the Trinity College text to be a complete playlet.¹⁸² He boldly puts forward his own reconstruction of the playlet with Wiles' own stage directions.¹⁸³ Jim Lees in 1987 concurred that the play was expanded into the *Guy of Gisborne* ballad.¹⁸⁴

On the other hand, in 1987 David Crook still declared unwaveringly that *Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne* formed the basis of the fragmentary play of c. 1475.¹⁸⁵ Crook cited only Prof. Holt and Dobson and Taylor,¹⁸⁶ altogether ignoring Wiles. Further detailed dissection of both the ballad and the stage dialogue—which dialogue omits the word "Irish"—could help clarify their order of composition. It likewise might clarify how (if at all) they were mutually influential, and to what (if any) extent each independently drew upon such a common source as the life and death of Robert of Wetherby.

The preceding pages have investigated the significance of the Irish knife appearing repeatedly in the *Guy of Gisborne* ballad. Historian David Crook has alerted his colleagues to research that text toward ascertaining whether it might reflect the historical root of the Robin Hood legend. Unfortunately, the *Guy of Gisborne* ballad (like the *Geste*) incorporates demonstrable literary turns far removed from any objective record of fact. The Irish knife brandished by Robin, like the beating and binding in Robin's *Guy of Gisborne* nightmare, is probably an ironic pun. These realistic-sounding details of the ballad, as literary devices, tend to argue against the *Guy of Gisborne* ballad as a very reliable historical source. This ballad could be an ironic analogue to *The Bruce*.

However, an initial look into those two details does not exhaust *Guy of Gisborne* as a mine for further research. The source(s) of the *Guy of Gisborne* ballad and of the Trinity College fragmentary drama remain unclear. Future research endeavors are called for. Until the early word-forms of *Guy of Gisborne* are scrutinized more exactly than to

date they have been, efforts to utilize this ballad as evidencing the origin of Robin Hood's legend must be made with utmost caution.¹⁸⁷

The professions of history and literary criticism more closely should mutually reinforce one another in future analyses of the original Robin Hood texts. Even the philosophers already have entered the scene. From those quarters Robin Hood has been denounced as the "foulest of creatures"¹⁸⁸ of whom it is judged, "until the last trace of him is wiped out of man's minds, we will not have a decent world to live in."¹⁸⁹ But why mince words? "Until men learn that of all human symbols, Robin Hood is the most immoral and the most contemptible, there will be no justice on earth and no way for mankind to survive."¹⁹⁰ Further investigation of that Middle Ages' rascal is requisite.¹⁹¹

After all, Robin Hood's is the third most prominent figure in history whose family came from Nottinghamshire. The families of both U.S. Presidents George Bush and William J. Clinton (born "Blythe," not Clinton) trace to the same Nottinghamshire village of Gotham: Bush's in 1180, and the Blythes in the thirteenth century.¹⁹² President Bush's ancestors date from the days of Robin Hood; they could have met him face to face. President Bush might not have been the first of his line to confront a foxy popular hero¹⁹³ purportedly devoted to robbing the rich to give to the poor.

NOTES

Earlier versions of this article were presented at the Texas Medieval Association International Conference, Our Lady of the Lakes University, San Antonio (September 11, 1993), and the Far West Popular Culture, and Far West American Culture Associations Annual Meeting, Las Vegas, (January 22, 1993).

¹*The Great Quotations*, compiler George Seldes. (New York: Pocket Books, 1967), p. 477. (attributed to Napoleon). "History is a fraud, agreed upon." *Ibid.*, 476.

²*English and Scottish Ballads*, vol. 3, ed. Francis James Child. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1886), p. 159.

³*Ibid.*, 42.

⁴M.J.C. Hodgart, *The Ballads* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1962), p. 108.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*, 18.

⁸*Ibid.*, 99.

⁹*Holinshed's Irish Chronicle*, eds. Liam Miller and Eileen Power. (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press Inc., 1979), p. 51.

Gerardus Mercator in his *Cosmographie* affirmeth that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mighty man are kept, which was called little Iohn, among which bones the huckle bone or hipbone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth *Hector Boethius*, that he thrust his arme through the hole therof. And the same bone beyng suted to the other partes of his body, did argue the man to haue bene 14 foote long, which was a prety length for a little Iohn. Whereby appeareth that he was called little Iohn ironically, lyke as we terme him an honest man whom we take for a Knaue in grayne. *Ibid.*

¹⁰Maurice Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend* (New York: Dorset Press, 1989), p. 182.

¹¹Joseph Ritson, *Robin Hood* (Menston, Yorksh.: Scholar Pr. Ltd., 1972), p. lxxiii.

¹²*Ibid.*, lxxiv. "...evidently John Walker, 1770-1831..." P. Valentine Harris, *The Truth about Robin Hood* (Mansefield: Linneys of Mansefield, 1978), p. 43.

For the catastrophe of Little John, who, it seems, was executed for a robbery on Arbor-hill, Dublin (with some curious particulars relating to his skill in archery), see Mr. J. C. Walker's ingenious *Memoir on the Armour and Weapons of the Irish*, p. 129, annexed to his *Historical Essay on the Dress of the Ancient and Modern Irish*. Dublin, 1788, 4to Thomas Percy, *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, vol. 1, ed. Henry B. Wheatley. (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1927), p. 105.

¹³Joseph Ritson, *supra* note 11, at lxxiv. "...Arbour Hill famous for its memories of Robin Hood's gigantic lieutenant, humourously called little John." Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 99, quoting Rev. Cosgrove, North Dublin City Environs (1908) (emphasis in Cosgrove).

¹⁴Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 103.

¹⁵P. Valentine Harris, *supra* note 12, at 43.

¹⁶J. W. Walker, *The True History of Robin Hood* (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Printing Co. Ltd., 1952), pp. 100-105.

¹⁷John Bellamy, *Robin Hood: An Historical Enquiry* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1985).

¹⁸Maurice Keen, *supra* note 10.

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¹⁹R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *Rymes of Robin Hood: An Introduction to the English Outlaw* (Wolfeboro, N.H.: Alan Sutton, 1989).

²⁰David Wiles, *The Early Plays of Robin Hood* (Totowa, N.J.: Biblio Distribution Center, 1981).

²¹Jim Lees, *supra* note 7.

²²Douglas Gray, "The Robin Hood Poems," *Poetica: An International Journal of Linguistic and Literary Studies* 1 (Tokyo: 1984), pp. 21-22.

²³R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19.

²⁴James C. Holt, *Robin Hood* (New York: Thames and Hudson, Inc. rev. ed. 1989)

...the last word on the composition and significance of the *Gest* has yet to be said. As it is, a scrupulously close reading of the text of that poem lies at the heart of Professor J. C. Holt's success in producing the single most thoughtful and wide-ranging survey of the legend in modern times. R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at xvi.

²⁵P. Valentine Harris, *supra* note 12, at 28.

²⁶David Crook, "The Sheriff of Nottingham and Robin Hood: The Genesis of the Legend?" *Thirteenth Century England II: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1987* (Wolfeboro, N.H.: Boydell & Brewer, Inc., 1988), pp. 59, 68.

²⁷R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at xiii n. 1.

²⁸Robin McKinley, *The Outlaws of Sherwood* (New York: Ace Books, 1989). pp. 215-237.

²⁹R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at xiii n. 1.

³⁰David Stuart Ryan, *The Lost Journal of Robyn Hood Outlaw* (New York: Kozmik Press Ltd., 1989), pp. 84-89.

³¹James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 198.

³²David Crook, *supra* note 24, at 68.

³³Francis James Child, *supra* note 2, at 42. "A Lytell Geste of Robin Hode was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde in a 4to. edition in black letter in the year 1489,...." J.W. Walker, *supra* note 16, at xx.

³⁴R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at xv.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 6.

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³⁶Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits* (New York: Pantheon Books, rev. ed. 1981), p. 127.

³⁷David Crook, *supra* note 26, at 66-67.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 67.

³⁹*Ibid.*, 60, 66-67.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 60, 64.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 67.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 61, 64.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 61.

⁴⁴Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 60. "There is not a woodman in all the variants of the Robin Hood legend: the peace of the forest is undisturbed by the sound of the axe. Its boundaries, moreover, are assumed as known; neither the Sheriff of Nottingham nor anyone else claims as forest what is not forest by right." Maurice Keen, *supra* note 10, at 141.

⁴⁵Maurice Keen, *supra* note 10, at 6. Cf. P. Valentine Harris, *supra* note 12, 99-100. "Many mythologists would have us believe that all references to Spring in the Robin Hood ballads indicate that he was a mythical personage associated with that season of the year,...." *Ibid.*, 29 n. 1.

⁴⁶R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 141 n. 2. Or shaws and shraddes might mean respectively a thicket or grove, and thorns or briars. J. W. Walker, *supra* note 16, at 100 ns. 1, 3.

⁴⁷Francis James Child, *supra* note 2, at 160.

⁴⁸James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 74.

⁴⁹R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 7.

⁵⁰David Crook, *supra* note 26, at 67. The most recent booklength study of English poaching as of the date of *Guy of Gisborne* is Roger B. Manning, *Hunters and Poachers: A Social and Cultural History of Unlawful Hunting in England 1485-1640* (New York: Oxford UP, 1993).

⁵¹James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 189. This has not impeded popularizers from continuing to put forward a fourteenth-century figure as the original Robin Hood. "Did Robin Hood Really Exist?," in Colin Wilson, *The Encyclopedia of Unsolved Mysteries* (Chicago: Contemporary Books, Inc., 1988), pp. 210-211.

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⁵²David Crook, "Some further evidence concerning the dating of the origins of the legend of Robin Hood," *English Historical Review*, XCIX (1984), pp. 530, 532.

⁵³"Though an outlaw would be a fugitive, it did not always mean that a fugitive would be an outlaw." Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 67.

⁵⁴R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at xxii; Maurice Keen, *supra* note 10, at 234; James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 190. But Robert Pogue Harrison implicitly suggests the legendary outlaw's name did not derive from Robert of Wetherby:

The phenomenon of disguise appears in the very name of "Robin Hood," which most certainly derives from it. The *hood* is that which *hides*, providing a protective cover for the outlaw's head. The name "Robin," in turn, derives from the French *robe*, the garment that cloaks the body.

Robert Pogue Harrison, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (Chicago: U. of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 79. (emphasis in Harrison).

⁵⁵Sherwood Forest, a district twenty by twenty-five miles in extent, is situated just to the north of Nottingham. It is named as Robin's headquarters in several of the later ballads. William Hall Clawson, *The Gest of Robin Hood* (Toronto: U. of Toronto Studies: Philological Series, 1909), p. 99.

⁵⁶Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 59.

⁵⁷[T]he royal forest was first of all an area in which a special kind of law—the forest law—applied....From its beginning the royal forest was to some extent an artificial creation that included lands without woods and villages that were alien to the idea of a forest in any physical meaning of the term.

Charles R. Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England* (Philadelphia: U. of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), p. 3.

"In the thirteenth century the area in royal forest has been worked out to have covered approximately one-fourth of the land area of England,...." *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵⁸"*Profit Ô prendre*: the right to take a part of the soil or produce of another's land, such as timber or water."

Ivan Fox and David P. Twomey, *Business Law and the Legal Environment* (Cincinnati: South-Western Publishing Co. 15th ed. 1993), p. 1167.

⁵⁹"There were numerous grants by various kings, of timber, deer, underwood, and such, to nobles and clergy. The rights to take fallen timber to burn charcol was [sic: were] given to the monestaries within the boundaries of the forest." Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 66.

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⁶⁰"Although we read of the sheriff being the keeper of the forest it was not always so, even though he was the Royal officer with jurisdiction over the whole counties of both Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire." *Ibid.*, 66.

"The sheriff of the county of Nottingham also had jurisdiction over Derbyshire, where there were some almost treeless forests, the word forest in its original meaning signifying any large area of land in which the deer were preserved for the king." P. Valentine Harris, *supra* note 12, at 88.

⁶¹J. W. Walker, *supra* note 16, at 103, citing Records of the Borough of Nottingham, vol. 1, at 47, 298; John Bellamy, *supra* note 17, at 19, 23; P. Valentine Harris, *supra* note 12, at 89.

⁶²R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at xviii.

⁶³*Ibid.*, 31.

⁶⁴Francis James Child, *supra* note 2, at 46, stanzas 11-12.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, 47, stanza 15.

⁶⁶Douglas Gray, *supra* note 22, at 28.

⁶⁷Francis James Child, *supra* note 2, at 80, stanza 206.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 82, stanza 214.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, 87, stanzas 247 and 249.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, 85, stanza 233. The most recent booklength study of traditional religion in England as of the date of *Guy of Gisborne* is Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-c. 1580* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1992).

⁷¹Douglas Gray, *supra* note 22, at 27. "The Robin Hood ballads are more devout. Robin receives the Virgin Mary's help in the fourth Fitt of the 'Gest' (117), and forces proud priests to say mass for him." M.J.C. Hodgart, *supra* note 4, at 130.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 27-28.

⁷³Francis James Child, *supra* note 2, at 159.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 160, stanzas 3 and 4. Foreboding with, perhaps, a hint of the supernatural is appropriate to the forest: "People during the Middle Ages mentioned more often meetings with ghosts, fairies, wolves, and witches than with bandits."

Roland Bechmann, *Trees and Man: The Forest in the Middle Ages* (New York: Paragon House, 1990), p. 266.

⁷⁵"[F]rom its origin the word 'yeoman' had a dual sense. It could describe either a freeholder of some substance or a

household official of some status.” James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 120.

[T]he yeomen as a group were occupied primarily with the land and its interests. Hence occupation becomes a partial means of describing their status. To be sure a yeoman might engage in a small trade or business on the side, maintaining meanwhile his agricultural interests. But if in time this trade or business loomed larger than his farming activities, he was no longer styled a yeoman....

Mildred Campbell, *The English Yeoman: Under Elizabeth and the Early Stuarts* (London: Merlin Press, 1983), p. 26.

⁷⁶“In my judgement the term yeoman, as used in the ballads does not imply any rank but is the equivalent to a *good fellow*.” Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 127 (Lees’s emphasis). But since Guy of Gisborne is a bountyhunter who will fight to the death Robin Hood, Guy scarcely is a good fellow.

⁷⁷Francis James Child, *supra* note 2, at pp. 161-62, stanzas 8 to 11.

⁷⁸*The Ballads of Robin Hood*, ed. Jim Lees. (Cambridge UP, 1977), p. 87; J. W. Walker, *supra* note 16, at 102 n. 1.

⁷⁹R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 142 n. 2.

⁸⁰Francis James Child, *supra* note 2, at 163, stanza 19.

⁸¹*Ibid.*, stanza 25.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 165, stanza 35.

⁸³*Ibid.*, 167, stanzas 42 and 43.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 168, stanza 51.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 169, stanzas 55 to 58.

⁸⁶James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 86.

⁸⁷An obscure and small area, Barnesdale seems never to have had fixed geographical boundaries, but was usually understood to comprise the district, four or five miles from north to south and about the same from east to west, stretching southwards from the river Went to the villages of Skelbrooke and Hampole, six miles north of Doncaster.

R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 20.

⁸⁸James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 86-87.

⁸⁹*Ibid.*, 86.

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⁹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 87. "[I]n medieval England the forest of Barnesdale in Yorkshire joined Sherwood Forest in Nottinghamshire." Colin Wilson, *supra* note 51, at 211.

⁹¹"In 1960, thinking I'd write a play about Robin, I went to Sherwood Forest. There's almost nothing left of it: here and there some groves of trees between the housing developments." James Goldman, *Introduction*, in James Goldman, *Robin and Marian: An Original Screenplay by James Goldman* (New York: Bantam Books, 1976), p. 32.

Evaluation of the cinematic evolution of the Robin Hood legend is facilitated by comparing this script with the University of Wisconsin/Warner Brothers Screenplay Series screenplay of the 1938 *The Adventures of Robin Hood*. The Adventures of Robin Hood (Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1979). (Professor Holt was the consultant for the 1991 Twentieth Century Fox production, *Robin Hood*, starring Patrick Bergin in the title role.)

⁹²"Admittedly Sherwood and Barnesdale are less than forty miles apart and the two areas may have become confused in popular imagination at any early date." R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 20.

⁹³James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 87-88.

⁹⁴*The Oxford English Dictionary*, vol. 8, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 77. This source's earliest example of the noun "Irish" as synonym for ire is "But her Irish was up too high to do any thing with her, and so I quit trying." David Crockett, *A Narrative of the Life of David Crockett of the State of Tennessee*, eds. James A. Shackford and Stanley J. Folmsbee. (Knoxville: U of Tennessee P, 1973), p. 65.

Here Davy Crockett, the hunter-warrior American forest hero (or else his implicitly acknowledged ghostwriter, *ibid.* at 10) refers to a literally Irish woman, *ibid.* at 59, whose maiden name had been Kennedy. *Ibid.*, 59 n. 2.

⁹⁵*The English Dialect Dictionary*, vol. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1923), p. 330.

⁹⁶Francis James Child, *supra* note 2, at 165, stanza 35.

⁹⁷John Taylor, "Robin Hood", in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 10, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988), pp. 435-436.

⁹⁸Francis James Child, *supra* note 2, at 159; Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 75. "The family name Gisburn is found in Yorkshire in the 14th century, a John de Gisburn being vicar of Doncaster in 1361." P. Valentine Harris, *supra* note 12, at 26 n. 1.

But the true geographic significance of Guy's being "of Gisborne" is debated. Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 75; James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 100; John Bellamy, *supra* note 17, at 33-35.

⁹⁹“? with pun on OF *irais*, wrathful, bad-tempered.” *Middle English Dictionary*, vol. 5, ed. Sherman M. Kuhn. (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1968), p. 283.

¹⁰⁰James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 81. In addition to the early ballads, there are other works which relate to the Robin Hood tales, such as the French pastourelles about Marian and the shepherd Robin. Popular ballads in English only emerged in the late Middle Ages, surviving from the fifteenth century onwards.

Jim Bradbury, *The Medieval Archer* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1985), p. 60.

¹⁰¹Francis Henry Stratmann, *A Middle English Dictionary: Containing Words Used by English Writers from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Henry Bradley. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891) p. 369.

¹⁰²*An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, ed. T. Northcote Toller. (London: Oxford UP 1898), p. 600.

¹⁰³*The Holy Bible*, vol. 3, eds. Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden, trans. John Wycliff. (Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 23.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, vol. 4, 565.

¹⁰⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 3, 50.

¹⁰⁶*The Books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Solomon: According to the Wycliffite Version*, eds. Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891), p. vi.

¹⁰⁷*The Holy Bible*, vol. 1, eds. Josiah Forshall and Frederic Madden. (Oxford: University Press, 1982), p. i.

¹⁰⁸A.J. Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland* (New York: Barnes & Noble Inc. 1968), p. 232; citing C.P.R., 1313-17, at 551.

¹⁰⁹*A New History of Ireland*, vol. 2, ed. Art Cosgrove. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 293.

¹¹⁰Goddard Henry Orpen, *Ireland Under the Normans: 1216-1333*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), p. 200.

¹¹¹*Ibid.*; Art Cosgrove, *supra* note 109, at 294.

¹¹²Art Cosgrove, *supra* note 109, at 294.

¹¹³R. James Goldstein, *The Matter of Scotland: Historical Narrative in Medieval Scotland* (Lincoln Uof Nebraska P, 1993), p. 138.

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¹¹⁴Charles Stanley Ross, "Barbour, John," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 2, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1983), p. 102.

¹¹⁵A.A.M. Duncan, "Robert I of Scotland," in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, vol. 10 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988) pp. 426-427.

¹¹⁶R. James Goldstein, *supra* note 113.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, 178, 340 n. 59, citing John Barbour, *Barbour's Bruce: A Fredome Is a Noble Thing!*, vol. 1, eds. Matthew P. McDiarmid and James A.C. Stevenson. (Edinburgh: 1980-1985), pp. 13, 94.

¹¹⁸*The Bruce*, Book xviii, 445, lines 94-98 (Bungay, Suffolk: Richard Clay & Sons, Ltd., 1937) [Early English Text Society: Extra Series No. 29].

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, 448, lines 162-74.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, 450, lines 221-28.

¹²¹Goddard Henry Orpen, *supra* note 110, at 204.

¹²²David Crook, *supra* note 26, at 68.

¹²³Goddard Henry Orpen, *supra* note 110, at 200.

¹²⁴Jim Bradbury, *supra* note 100, at 62, citing Conlon, Romans de Wistasse, and Hathaway, Fouke le Fitz-Warin, and 68-69.

¹²⁵R. James Goldstein, *supra* note 113, at 180.

¹²⁶A. A. M. Duncan, *supra* note 115, at 427.

¹²⁷James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 47; J. W. Walker, *supra* note 16, at 1, 8.

¹²⁸Francis J. Child, *supra* note 2, at 46, stanza 12.

¹²⁹*Ibid.*, 47, stanza 15.

¹³⁰*Ibid.*, 160, stanza 3.

¹³¹Joseph Ritson, *supra* note 11, at x.

¹³²Edward William Fithian, *The Life of Robin Hood, the Celebrated Outlaw* (London: W. Nicholson & Sons, Ltd., 1900), p. 87. Fithian similarly quotes without analysis the troubling language from Robin's description in *Guy of Gisborne* of Robin's dream. *Ibid.*, 64.

¹³³James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 38.

¹³⁴Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 128.

¹³⁵James Goldman, *supra* note 91, at 28.

¹³⁶*See, e.g.*, W. H. Clawson, *supra* note 55, at 9.

¹³⁷James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 200 n. 11. Jennifer Roberson's recent novel quotes these four lines in a context accurately suggesting they signify larceny, not battery. Jennifer Roberson, *Lady of the Forest* (New York: Zebra Books, 1992), p. 486.

¹³⁸J. Valentine Harris, *supra* note 12, at 16 n. 2.

¹³⁹Maurice Keen, *supra* note 10, at 88.

¹⁴⁰*The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, vol. 4, ed/ Walter W. Skeat. (Oxford: Clarendon Press 2d ed. 1924), p. 645. Gamelyn's tale was written by an unknown poet *circa* 1350. It survives in several of the older *Canterbury Tales* manuscripts, although Chaucer did not write it. Maurice Keen, *supra* note 10, at 78.

¹⁴¹*The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, *supra* note 140, at 664, lines 779-82.

¹⁴²Roberta Kevelson, *Inlaws/Outlaws A Semiotics of Systemic Interaction: "Robin Hood" and the "King's Law"* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1977), p. 77.

¹⁴³Maurice Keen, *supra* note 10, at 101, 151.

¹⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 163.

¹⁴⁵Violence and cruelty were intensified when occurring as part of social conflict. If lords thought themselves justified in beating and hanging rebellious peasants, peasants replied when opportunity arose with similar cruelty.

And so at the beginning of the *Gest* Robin Hood's advice to Little John, should he meet bishop, archbishop or sheriff, is to "beat and bind."

R. H. Hilton, "The Origins of Robin Hood," in *Peasants, Knights and Heretics* ed. R. H. Hilton. (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1981), pp. 221, 227.

¹⁴⁶John Bellamy, *supra* note 17, at 65. Wrote Hobsbawm of the noble robber figure: "This abstention from wanton violence is all the more astonishing, since the sort of environment in which bandits operate is often one in which all men go armed, where killing is normal, and where in any case the safest maxim is to shoot first and ask questions later." Eric Hobsbawm, *supra* note 36, at 46.

¹⁴⁷P. Valentine Harris, *supra* note 12, at 30 n. 1.

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¹⁴⁸Sir Walter Scott introduced Robin Hood and Friar Tuck in *Ivanhoe* (1819), establishing them firmly in the reign of John Regent of England while Richard I was away in the Crusades; likewise Thomas Peacock wrote a burlesque novel *Maid Marian* (1822).

Michael Patrick Hearn, *Afterword*, in Howard Pyle, *The Merry Adventures of Robin Hood* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), pp. 377, 383.

¹⁴⁹Thomas Love Peacock, *Maid Marian*, ed. Richard Garnett. (London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1899), p. 113 n.

¹⁵⁰*Middle English Dictionary*, ed. Hans Kurath. (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1956), p. 772.

¹⁵¹*The Holy Bible*, vol. 1, *supra* note 106, at 682.

¹⁵²"Sir John Paston to John Paston, March, 1470," in *The Paston Letters*, vol. 2, ed. James Gairdner. (London: Constable, 1874), p. 393.

¹⁵³"Sir John Paston to John Paston, April 16, 1473," in *The Paston Letters: A.D. 1422-1509*, vol. 5, ed. James Gairdner. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1904), pp. 184, 185.

¹⁵⁴*Middle English Dictionary*, *supra* note 150, at 865.

¹⁵⁵*The Holy Bible*, vol. 1, *supra* note 106, at 158.

¹⁵⁶*The Holy Bible*, vol. 4, *supra* note 103, at 35.

¹⁵⁷R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 79 n. 10.

¹⁵⁸Douglas Gray, *supra* note 22, at 2.

There can be little doubt that in the last 25 years or so the Robin Hood legend had exercised the minds of some of the most distinguished of English medieval historians, their investigations culminating in this extended study of the most sensible sort by Holt. John Bellamy, *supra* note 17, at 35.

¹⁵⁹Maurice Keen, *supra* note 10, at 183.

¹⁶⁰James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 47.

¹⁶¹Maurice Keen, *supra* note 10, at 183.

¹⁶²John Bellamy, *supra* note 17, at 16.

¹⁶³Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 10.

¹⁶⁴John Bellamy, *supra* note 17.

¹⁶⁵Douglas Gray, *supra* note 22, at 2. But R. James Goldstein is a professor of English at Auburn University.

¹⁶⁶Francis James Child, *supra* note 2, at 428; David Wiles, *supra* note 20, at 71.

¹⁶⁷John Matthews Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakesperian Drama*, vol. 1, (Boston: Atheneum Press, 1897), p. 279. "It opens abruptly with an arrangement between the sheriff and a knight who promises to capture Robin Hood in return for 'gold and fee'." James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 33.

¹⁶⁸R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 203.

¹⁶⁹Joseph Quincy Adams, *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), p. 345.

¹⁷⁰James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 201 n. 13; R.B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 203.

¹⁷¹James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 201 n. 13.

¹⁷²*Ibid.*

¹⁷³*The Paston Letters*, *supra* note 153, at 185.

¹⁷⁴R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 204.

¹⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 203.

¹⁷⁶David Wiles, *supra* note 20, at 33.

¹⁷⁷R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 140; James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 30. Yet modern versions of the ballad differ in their language, e.g., in the final words. Joseph Ritson, *supra* note 11, at 90; Jim Lees, *supra* note 78, at 93.

¹⁷⁸R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 53, 140. "We have here a ballad of Robin Hood (from the editor's folio ms.) which was never before printed, and carries marks of much greater antiquity than any of the common songs on this subject." Thomas Percy, *supra* note 12, at 102.

¹⁷⁹James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 15-16; David Crook, *supra* note 26, at 68.

¹⁸⁰James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 16.

¹⁸¹David Wiles, *supra* note 20, at 46.

¹⁸²*Ibid.*, 33.

¹⁸³*Ibid.*, 34.

¹⁸⁴Jim Lees, *supra* note 7, at 43, 125.

¹⁸⁵David Crook, *supra* note 26, at 68.

¹⁸⁶*Ibid.*, 68 n. 79.

¹⁸⁷R. B. Dobson and J. Taylor, *supra* note 19, at 7.

¹⁸⁸Ayn Rand, *Atlas Shrugged* (New York: The New American Library, 1957), p. 540. In this novel the author attempted "to present the *total of a self-consistent philosophical system*." Barbara Branden, *The Passion of Ayn Rand* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1986), p. 300. (Branden's emphasis).

¹⁸⁹Ayn Rand, *supra* note 188, at 539.

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*, 541. Rand's outrage stems from the popular illusion that Robin Hood stole from the rich to give to the poor. *Ibid.*, 540. (This she conspicuously declines to assert as originally an element of his story: "It is said that he fought against the looting rulers and returned the loot to those who had been robbed, but that is not the meaning of the legend which has survived." *Ibid.*) All scholars nowadays understand that in the original tales Robin Hood definitely did not plunder the property to replenish the exploited. James C. Holt, *supra* note 24, at 38-39, 183-85, 194-95.

¹⁹¹The most recent major scholarly book studying the evolution of the Robin Hood legend is that of Tom Hayes of the City University of New York. Tom Hayes, *The Birth of Popular Culture: Ben Jonson, Maid Marian and Robin Hood* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 1992). Hayes studies Ben Jonson's unfinished play, *The Sad Shepherd: Or, A Tale of Robin Hood*. "Some critics have implied that *The Sad Shepherd* is a noble failure. I should prefer to call it a *tour de force*." Malcolm A. Nelson, *The Robin Hood Tradition in the English Renaissance* (Salzburg, Austria: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur University Salzburg, 1973), p. 224.

¹⁹²Agence France Presse, "Bush and Clinton 'may originate from village of fools'" (September 30, 1992); Press Assn. Ltd., "Fools of Gotham 'Were Bush and Clinton's Ancestors'" (September 30, 1992).

¹⁹³The newest substantial novelistic addition to Robin Hood's legend is *Robin and the King*. Parke Godwin, *Robin and the King* (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1993). Godwin's Robin is a blue-eyed, *ibid.* at 23, 93, 227, thickly chestnut-haired, *ibid.* at 29, 227, attorney, *ibid.* at 20, 84, 282, penning "commentaries on English law," *ibid.* at 56, 77-78, and harrying a bishop for loot and liberty. Parke Godwin, *Sherwood* 259-62 (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc. 1991). This sounds fantastic. Where will one find such a man?

PATRICIA HIGHSMITH, NICHOLAS BLAKE, AND THE CASE OF THE DUPLICATE MURDER

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In 1958 British poet C. Day-Lewis, in his role as detective novelist Nicholas Blake, found himself confronted by an unsettling real-life puzzle: he wrote a novel, published it, and then discovered that there were uncanny—and disconcerting—resemblances to a novel by another established writer—who had earlier published hers. As Blake himself describes it in his “Author’s Note” to later editions of *A Penknife in My Heart*:

After a British edition of this book had gone to press, I discovered that the basis of its plot is similar to that of a novel by Patricia Highsmith, *Strangers on a Train*, published in 1950 by Harper & Brothers and later made into a film. I had never read this novel, or seen the film, nor do I remember ever hearing about them. My own treatment of the basic idea—the switching of victims—is very different from Miss Highsmith’s. But two of the chief characters in my story, I found to my consternation, bore the same Christian names as two in hers: these have been changed; and I should like to thank Miss Highsmith for being so charmingly sympathetic over the predicament in which the long arm of coincidence put me.¹

The long arm of coincidence was certainly at work: in both novels one man proposes to another a collaborative murder project: I’ll kill your wife if you’ll kill my father/uncle. Both proposals occur in the twilight land of travel, where both past and future are briefly suspended. In both cases the person who proposes the murder finally dies of drowning in the course of a trip on a sailing boat, a trip on which he is accompanied by his fellow murderer. In both cases, the second murderer chooses finally to confess, in both cases to his dead wife’s lover. And, most upsetting from Nicholas Blake’s point of view, there is the strange similarity mentioned in his “Author’s Note”—in each book the killer who proposes trading victims is named Charles, and the wife who becomes victim number one is named Miriam.

As Blake points out, his handling of the collaborative murder theme is dramatically different from that of Highsmith. Highsmith’s first murderer, Charles Bruno, is permanently caught in adolescence—

his emotions are erratic and uncontrolled, his desire to have his father murdered is largely a result of a classic Oedipal triangle, and one of his primary reasons for killing Guy Haines's wife is a hero-worshipper's need to ally himself with the object of his admiration, in this case architect Guy. The book as a whole traces Guy Haines's gradual recognition of the nature of the bond he shares with Charles Bruno: "Each was what the other had not chosen to be, the cast-off self, what he thought he hated but perhaps in reality loved."² When Charles Bruno is drowning, freeing Guy from the greatest threat to his freedom, Guy tries desperately to save him; once left alone, Guy finds the guilt of their joint venture too much for one person to bear.

Nicholas Blake's Charles Hammer (or Stuart Hammer, as he is called in later editions) is very different from Highsmith's Charles Bruno: Stuart is a coldblooded calculator who deliberately manipulates Edwin Stowe into a shared murder scheme. And Edwin Stowe—Ned—is far more like Nicholas Blake's C. Day-Lewis self than he is like Highsmith's Guy. As Sean Day-Lewis—C. Day-Lewis's son—points out, Ned is named after the home village of C. Day-Lewis's adolescence—Edwinstowe. And Ned Stowe shares with C. Day-Lewis a complicated and psychologically tangled double life of wife and mistress, and a sense of himself as a " 'moral desperado.' "³ Ned's role in the murders is also substantially different from that of Highsmith's Guy, who only realizes after the fact that Bruno has killed Guy's wife, Miriam. Blake's Ned *willingly* agrees to the death of his wife (Miriam in the first edition, Helena later) and sees her death as his only chance to be reborn into a new life with the woman he now loves. In the end, the perfect murder plot designed by Stuart Hammer is derailed by Ned's sense of responsibility for his wife's lover, an unstable young man who fears that he himself did the killing in a brainstorm. When Stuart Hammer, the originator of the murder plot, drowns, there is no rescue attempt, as in Highsmith, by his fellow murderer. Hammer is himself a murder victim, since Ned expiates his crime with a murder/suicide: a deliberately staged collision between Hammer's small sloop—with both men aboard—and a large steamer.

As these two short summaries suggest, the novels are so different in overall effect that, with the Miriam and Charles name changes, a reader familiar with Highsmith's work could easily read the Blake novel with no sense of familiarity whatsoever.

Could the resemblances between the two novels be indeed, as Blake describes it, simply a result of "the long arm of coincidence"? Could Blake perhaps have read a review of Highsmith's novel, or heard the

plot described? Such a situation could neatly account for the shared plot device, the name duplications, and the disposal of characters by drowning.

But other evidence in the book suggests differently—that despite Blake's failure to remember the book, he indeed had at some point encountered it. Nicholas Blake/C. Day-Lewis saw himself as a poet first—and a detective writer only second (his first detective novel was written to finance repairs to a leaky roof). And it is C. Day-Lewis's fascination with images that helps provide compelling evidence that Blake must have at least skimmed through the pages of Highsmith's novel.

In *The Poetic Image*, a book derived from his Clark Lectures, C. Day-Lewis describes three stages in the construction of a poem. In the first, "The poet ...starts with an impression, a drop of the river of experience, crystallized perhaps into an image."⁴ For the second stage, Day-Lewis describes Yeats's method: Yeats spoke "of the trance-like state in which 'images pass rapidly before you,' and said that it is necessary 'to suspend will and intellect, to bring up from the subconscious anything you already possess a fragment of'" (69). In the third stage, for Day-Lewis, "the work of criticism begins, the selection or rejection of associated images in conformity with the now emerging pattern of the poem" (69).

For Day-Lewis, then, the first two stages in the writing of a poem involve encounters with images, the second stage being an almost hypnotized session in which there emerges from the subconscious "anything you already possess a fragment of." If Day-Lewis the prose-writer were to be heavily influenced—albeit unknowingly—by another writer, one would expect some trace of it to remain in flashes of imagery—some of which would undoubtedly be appropriate to the emerging pattern of Day-Lewis's/Blake's own work.

For a reader of Highsmith's novel, the scene on the merry-go-round in Metcalf is likely to be one of the most striking images of the book. Miriam, the victim to be, rides round and round, accompanied without her knowledge by her murderer to be. For Charles Bruno, the merry-go-round is a center point—a moment of anticipation linked with his sense of the promise and excitement of the childhood world he has never quite outgrown: "He felt he was about to experience again some ancient, delicious childhood moment that the steam calliope's sour hollowness, the stitching hurdy-gurdy accompaniment, and the drum-and-cymbal crash brought almost to the margin of his grasp" (69).

Such an image would be wildly inappropriate to Blake's Stuart Hammer, who except in his resentment for his uncle/guardian seems to never have been a child. But a tiny merry-go-round image flashes through Blake's pages nevertheless—linked not with Stuart, but with Stuart's cousin Barbara, whom he has ruthlessly romanced as a matter of financial prudence. Barbara, looking back, sees their affair in terms of a childhood whirl now outgrown:

His buccaneering air, his flashy spending, his brassy effrontery in love-making had appealed to the inexperienced girl as a merry-go-round at a fair might appeal to an overprotected child. Barbara had been lifted off her feet, whirled round and round, then the whole thing had ground to a stop, and her natural good sense told her how garish it had all been. She was lucky to have paid so lightly for her ignorance and folly, she thought ... (72)

There are limits, of course, to how far this argument can go, since merry-go-rounds have been one of the staples of childhood for generations. In addition, Alfred Hitchcock's 1951 film adaptation of *Strangers on a Train* featured a merry-go-round even more prominently than Highsmith had, using it both for Miriam's murder and for a dramatic final encounter between Guy and Bruno.

Far less ambiguous evidence, however, appears in the two authors' descriptions of the murders, with Blake using images that appear in Highsmith's novel but not in the Hitchcock film. Two of the murders—that of Charles Bruno's father by Guy in *Strangers on a Train* and that of Ned's wife Helena by Stuart Hammer in *A Penknife in My Heart*—are roughly analogous since they involve the killer's using a detailed description by the other party to enter a house, creep up to the bedroom, and eliminate the chosen victim. Highsmith's description includes a detailed picture of Guy as he reaches the upper hall of "the Doghouse," the house where he will kill Charles Bruno's father:

The floor gave the tiniest wail of complaint, and Guy resiliently withdrew his foot, waited, and stepped around the spot. Delicately his hand closed on the knob of the hall door. As he opened it, the clock's tick on the landing of the main stairway came louder, and he realized he had been hearing it for several seconds. He heard a sigh.

A sigh on the main stairs!

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A chime rang out. The knob rattled, and he squeezed it hard enough to break it, he thought. *Three. Four.* Close the door before the butler hears it! (136-7)

The picture is a compelling one: a man creeping along the hall, caught in terror by what seems to be a sigh, and then realizing that the sound is merely that of the clockworks preparing for the chimes that follow.

Blake includes a similar moment, as Stuart Hammer enters the front hall of the home of Ned and Helena Stowe the night Helena is killed:

He shone his torch beam into the black, gaping throat of the hall. Empty. He slipped in, closing the door behind him and releasing the catch of the lock. The faint click this made, as if it were the start of a chain reaction, merged into a hoarse, strangled, rasping sound, which set his heart bumping. He swung round in the darkness to face whatever the thing was. And the next instant, a grandfather clock, which had been gathering its senile forces to strike, began chiming the hour. (92)

Again, the voice-like sound—now harsh and strangled—and the sudden ringing out of the chimes. The image has a vivid symbolic appropriateness for both books: the sense of the ticking away of the minutes of the victim's life, the ringing out of the chimes that is like a slightly premature death knell for the chosen victim.

But a far more striking resemblance appears in terms of what happens to Highsmith's Guy as he flees the scene of the crime. In approaching the house before the murder, Guy's hat is torn from his head by a branch. After the murder, in the panic of flight, he takes a route other than those Charles Bruno had marked out for him, and finds himself in the midst of a small woods:

Something had caught him and was holding him. He fought it automatically with his fists, and found it was bushes, twigs, briars, and kept fighting and hurling his body through it, because the sirens were still behind him and this was the only direction to go. He concentrated on the enemy ahead of him, and on both sides and even behind him, that caught at him with thousands of sharp tiny hands whose crackling began to drown out even the

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sirens. He spent his strength joyfully against them, relishing their clean, straight battle against him.

He awakened at the edge of a woods, face down on a downward sloping hill. Had he awakened, or had he fallen only a moment ago? But there was greyness in the sky in front of him, the beginning of dawn, and when he stood up, his flickering vision told him he had been unconscious. His fingers moved directly to the mass of hair and wetness that stood out from the side of his head. Maybe my head is broken, he thought in terror, and stood for a moment dully, expecting himself to drop dead.

Below, the sparse lights of a little town glowed like stars at dusk. Mechanically, Guy got out a handkerchief and wrapped it tight around the base of his thumb where a cut had oozed black-looking blood. (141-142)

In a symbolically appropriate move, the brambles have scarred Guy's face and hand, emphasizing the second self he has chosen by his alliance with Bruno. The barely visible traces of those scars permanently mark the change in Guy: a man now both different from and linked to the Guy Haines who existed before the ride on the train.

In Blake's book, the sense of likeness between Stuart Hammer and Ned Stowe, while present, is far more underplayed—in the end their differences remain most vividly in the reader's mind. And yet Blake also uses this idea of the scars of the killing. Ned Stowe, the character corresponding to Highsmith's Guy, is attacked by the victim's dog (an echo perhaps of the reference to the Doghouse in Highsmith's novel?) and, despite his gloves, Ned's hand is bitten through to the bone. But it is in Stuart Hammer's approach to the Stowe house that the parallel to the Highsmith novel comes through most clearly:

He had taken off his gloves to alter the number plates; and now, getting out of the car, he stumbled in a deep rut, and throwing out a hand for support, found himself gripping a bramble while another bramble branch slashed viciously across his cheek, and his cap was torn off his head. He fumbled for a handkerchief, mopped at his bleeding hand and face ... (90-91)

The murderous Stuart is scarred on both face and hand by what he is about to do; Ned, who at the last moment changes his mind and tries to avoid killing his chosen victim, is only scarred in the hand.

In both novels, the brambles—and the striking clocks—are not vitally necessary to the plot, but have a vivid appropriateness to the overall pattern each author is constructing. Had Nicholas Blake indeed encountered Highsmith's novel? C. Day-Lewis had no conscious memory of having read *Strangers on a Train*, but his unconscious memory, with its keen sense of image and pattern, seems to have known better.

NOTES

¹*A Penknife in My Heart* (New York, 1958). Subsequent quotations are cited parenthetically in the text.

²*Strangers on a Train* (Baltimore, 1950), p. 163. Subsequent quotations are cited parenthetically in the text.

³*C. Day-Lewis: An English Literary Life* (London, 1980), pp. 232, 237.

⁴*The Poetic Image* (New York, 1947), p. 68. Subsequent quotations are cited parenthetically in the text.

DISCERNING MOTIVE: ANOTHER LOOK AT TROLLOPE'S *WARDEN*

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Septimus Harding, *The Worden's* meek little protagonist who has the habit of playing an imaginary cello whenever he gets nervous (and he gets nervous frequently), is one of Anthony Trollope's more endearing characters. The amount of critical commentary written about him indicates that he is also one of the more fascinating. Critics have collectively identified two primary dilemmas which face Harding, two possible motives for his resignation of the wardenship, which constitutes the novel's climax. One is the questioning that awakens in him of whether he has a right to the income he receives, and the other is the simple desire for peace, for an end to the argument and turmoil. Harding is questioning the justice of his position for the first time in his life, but he is also drowning in unpleasantness, the existence of which traumatizes his nervous soul. Commentary on *The Warden* has emphasized the former of these motives almost exclusively. Harding has been interpreted primarily as an ethical character, a character whose conscience drives him to do what is just, and this in the face of much hostile opposition. He has been called "the purest of Trollope's clergymen" (Letwin 232), a character of "steadfast belief in what is right" who "refus[es] to subscribe to what is wrong" (Smith 132). More than one critic has considered him nothing short of heroic, and many, including A. O. J. Cockshut, author of the influential *Anthony Trollope: A Critical Study*, have considered this heroism self-evident.

If we were to discover, however, that Harding's primary desire is simply for an end to the unpleasantness, and that the ethical dilemma is secondary, Harding would begin to seem less the man of integrity that he has previously been considered. And this is in fact what I will argue: Harding's motive is less the agitating drive of his conscience than a simple longing for the quiet that an end to the controversy will bring about.

Cockshut's attitude is typical; the majority of critics have considered Harding's motivation to be so unquestionably ethical that they have neglected to examine it. But a few who share this opinion have taken a less careless look. Such critics as Ruth apRoberts, Sherman Hawkins, and Dayton Haskin have argued that Harding is more morally just, or at least more human, than Grantly and Bold (who are the representative figures of the opposing factions and characters with whom Harding is clearly contrasted); Grantly and Bold, they argue,

base their judgments on rigid, scientific systems of principle, whereas Harding, on the other hand, “is a man of feeling” (Hawkins 210). apRoberts points out, in fact, that Harding embodies situation ethics in that he succeeds in deciding for himself what is just rather than allowing scientific, inflexible systems to decide for him (19). (This obvious conflict with Grantly and Bold is certainly part of the reason Harding is so widely considered heroic.) apRoberts believes that Harding’s motivation is, for the course of the novel, “disinterested virtue” (21) and calls Harding “as beneficent a man as we can imagine” (17). Unlike apRoberts, Hawkins admits that Harding’s motivation begins as a desire for simple tranquility; however he still maintains that this attitude evolves into a desire to do what is just. Harding’s “moral strength begins in weakness: he cannot bear to be misjudged and at first conceives his resignation as an escape from an uncomfortable position” (211). However, when he actually takes that step at the end, “he does what he has long desired, but does it now because it is right. The evolution through uneasiness and mental anguish to moral recognition is slow, but it is an evolution and not a reversal” (212). If, as Hawkins implies, Harding’s embodiment of situation ethics is a very *result* of his lack of a system of principle, perhaps that is why it takes negative press to start him contemplating the justice of his income—a decade after he begins receiving it.

Haskin also asserts Harding’s concern with justice, but his assertion is a more qualified one. Instead of truly examining the situation for himself, Harding sees only the two possible alternatives pointed out to him by Grantly and by the *Jupiter*: remaining in the position as before, or unequivocally resigning the position and sentencing himself to a life of comparative poverty. Haskin argues that Harding fails to give enough thought to ways in which he could give up the post and still avoid poverty, such as exchanging positions with Quiverful or living with the Bishop. Haskin interprets this attitude as resulting from a “somewhat masochistic desire to expiate his guilt” (50); i.e., Harding is harder on himself than the situation calls for. But sentencing himself to poverty will also end the controversy unequivocally; what Haskin calls “masochistic desire” is actually a desire on Harding’s part to put an end to the media attention that torments him by taking an action that outside forces such as the *Jupiter* cannot help being satisfied with. This action is as little an attempt to “expiate his guilt” and as much an attempt to appease, to put an end to the negative light in which he is seen, as is giving to the beadsmen out of his own pocket an extra twopence a day when the controversy originated (12). At any rate, Haskin appears also to consider Harding

heroic, although he is the only one of these scholars never to actually use the word "hero" and to acknowledge the possibility of flaws in Harding.

But an opinion that takes a radically different view of Trollope's meek little hero is the one expressed in an article that has become one of the most quoted pieces of *Warden* criticism, M. A. Goldberg's discussion of the novel as "A Commentary on the Age of Equipoise." Goldberg's article is one of the earliest—and still one of the few—to state that questions of justice have little to do with Harding's decision to resign the wardenship: "True, [Harding] speaks of an awakened conscience, but this is a conscience more nudged than aroused, for his resignation is aimed at removing himself from attack, not at alleviating wrongs" (384). Many, if not most, critics who refer to this article make little mention of Goldberg's obvious suspicion of Harding. Haskin is one of these. Goldberg and the other critics I have cited are in fact at poles—Goldberg calls Harding *non-heroic* (386). And more recently, Thomas Langford has said, with regard to Chapter Eleven, in which Eleanor is referred to as "Iphigenia" and Harding as "Agamemnon," that Harding actually bears little similarity to the Achaean ruler. "He is, in fact, the opposite of the old Greek Warrior king. Indecisive and lacking courage, he wishes only to enjoy peace and quietHe simply resigns the battlefield and gives over his post in favor of peace" (439). Langford is, along with Goldberg, one of the few critics to suggest, at least, that Harding may be something less than a "hero."

All of these critics should be commended for engaging in some kind of examination of Harding's motives, a task most critics of the novel have neglected, a task essential to our understanding of it. Yet all of these generalizations are lopsided. I will admit that Goldberg in particular is excessively critical, not even allowing that ethical issues are one of Harding's concerns (383). Harding is neither the hero that the former group makes him out to be nor the villain that the latter group tries to make him. No one will deny that Harding dislikes turmoil; and neither will I accept the claim Goldberg makes, that Harding is unconcerned about ethical issues. The difficult question, again, is which of these two principal sentiments—the desire for justice or the desire for tranquility—is the more powerful part of his motivation. None of the above-mentioned critics attempt what I will attempt here: a close examination of the forces that cause Harding to act.

Both concerns are strong in Harding, and in fact, if we simply examine the degree of voice he gives to each of these concerns, it is

almost impossible to tell which one of them is dominant. We are told that Harding asks himself, "Was John Hiram's will fairly carried out? That was the true question," and that "he was not so anxious to prove himself right as to be so" (32). But we are also told that "he felt that he would give almost anything—much more than he knew he ought to—to relieve himself from the storm which he feared was coming" (54), that he would have done so "from the sheer love of quiet" (55). We are told that "what [Harding] could not endure was that he should be accused by others, *and not acquitted by himself*" (91, my italics). But we are also told that he is terrified of being "dragged forth into the glaring day and gibbeted before ferocious multitudes" (9). After examining such evidence, it is far from clear which of these two concerns of Harding is the dominant one. He seems, in fact, to make little or no distinction between these two motives in his own mind. But even if one of them did seem dominant in the amount of voice Harding gives to it, this kind of "evidence" would not really be evidence at all—it is fallacious, for reasons I will emphasize below.

In order to discern, then, which motive is dominant in Harding, we must attempt as best we can to look at the actions Harding takes, to follow the path of his thinking, and to analyze the fluctuations of his attitudes throughout his ordeal. We must look at those forces which are acting on him at critical points in the path leading to his decision.

Harding first appears to move toward a resolution of some sort (instead of simply moping) in Chapter Nine, "The Conference." At first, he *primarily* seems to want to escape turmoil and *secondarily* to figure out the justice, or lack thereof, of his position. During the interview with Grantly he broods over the *Jupiter* article: "Was he to be looked on as the unjust griping priest he had been there described?" And he complains to the archdeacon, "Could you tell me to sit there at ease, indifferent, and satisfied while such things as these are said of me loudly in the world?" (88) He makes Grantly see that what he wants is to escape the pain, but his perceptive son-in-law convinces him that he must endure. So now, the unpleasantness-question taken care of for the (very brief) time being, Harding is left asking himself the ethical question. He is extremely depressed until he is attracted to Eleanor's scheme to escape altogether (98-99). But he changes his mind again and tells Eleanor he must stand firm in the face of criticism and bear the misery (100). Here he is telling his daughter just what Grantly told him. He admits that he does not exactly believe Grantly's statements, but he is, nevertheless, controlled by them, "by a sense of duty, which, though he could not understand it, he was fain to acknowledge" (100). But then in Chapter Thirteen, when he sees the article in the *Jupiter*, he

once again decides that he wants to give up his position because he believes that every word of the article is true (124-125).

It would appear from this information that Harding is unable to resist any persuasion he comes in contact with, that if he has any free will, he certainly does not exercise it—a conclusion that would contradict arguments for his heroism. However, before we draw such a conclusion, we should look closely at the final scene between Harding and Grantly in London, in which Harding *appears* to be resisting, finally, the will of others and asserting his own. To begin with, Harding is still not willing to admit to his son-in-law that he “gave him the slip” (173). If Harding is less intimidated by his son-in-law and is for the first time in the dominant position, it is only because Grantly’s *relative* position has changed; he is now the one doing the asking.

“Come, warden, promise me this,” he begs. Grantly is not as threatening as he has been earlier in the novel because he is more distressed and less confident than at any point previously. The only reason to believe that the warden would be as adamant if Grantly were in better control of his emotions is the distinct possibility that after wavering, Harding realizes that the act he has been driven to signals the end of his torment. The warden does not have the self-assurance of one who has confidently, heroically made a disinterested ethical decision; instead he simply answers “very, very meekly” the questions that are put to him (174).

However, the next morning Harding is, admittedly, more adamant, more determined. “The tamest animal will turn when driven too hard, and even Mr. Harding was beginning to fight for his own way” (178). But we must remember that he has the previous evening gone the distance, as it were, with his son-in-law, if “very, very meekly,” and this, presumably, for the first time in his life. Therefore, it seems that if Harding is a dynamic character, he has *not* learned to make an ethical decision but only to stand up to his son-in-law; when mention is made of the “triumph in his heart,” we are told that what he is proud of is not the substance of the decision itself but rather the fact that he had “held his own purpose against that of his son-in-law, and manfully combatted against great odds” (183). Arthur Pollard, another of the “hero”-critics, himself refers to the resignation as “Mr. Harding’s single and ultimate act of *independence*” (56, my emphasis). And even in this sense the argument that Harding is a dynamic character is questionable: when asked by his daughter, Grantly’s wife, to delay his resignation, he admits that “if I waited till I got to Barchester, I might perhaps be prevented” (180).

In Chapter Thirteen, Harding decides to go to London and resign before Grantly has a chance to stop him. This is a very significant detail. He realizes that the archdeacon can easily sway him, that he does not have an answer for the arguments he knows Grantly will wield. "There is a great deal of truth in all he says," he tells Eleanor. "He argues very well, and I can't always answer him; but there is an old saying, Nelly: 'Everyone knows where his own shoe pinches!' " (126) But not only can Harding never answer Grantly's arguments; he can never answer anyone's arguments; his opinion is always that of whoever did the persuading most recently. And the pain of being persuaded in different directions has finally become too much to bear. His shoe has pinched long enough. So Harding escapes from Grantly in order to alleviate his own pain, which is caused by not only the public criticism, but also the pressure from Grantly himself. "But what will Dr. Grantly say?" asks Eleanor, and Harding answers, "Well, my dear, it can't be helped. *We shall be out at Crabtree then*" (128, my emphasis). Not only will resigning end the public ridicule, but the move to Crabtree will conveniently remove the *visibility* of Grantly's ridicule as well.

(And at this point we can see why, as I mentioned above, the relative amounts of voice Harding gives to the two different motives identified by previous critics would not even be reliable evidence of Harding's motivation if we saw clear dominance of one priority over the other. The unpleasantness Harding complains of is only the distress caused him by the *Jupiter*. But Grantly is just as much a source of the pain Harding wants to alleviate. And why Harding does relatively little complaining of the stress the archdeacon causes him is obvious. The two kinds of concerns Harding *verbalizes* are in fact not evidence of anything.)

So Harding is anything but a "hero." What most of these critics maintain is that Harding grows and finally reaches a moral decision by himself, independent of the abundant opinions of others. "The fact that strong pressures come from opposing directions," says Haskin, "forces the warden to make a free choice. Nothing, ultimately, decides for him" (50). But to say that the existence of pressures "forces" Harding to make a "free choice" sounds like a contradiction in terms—primarily because it is. He really has no will of his own; he says, "I'm sure I ought not to remain here if I have nothing better to put forward than a quibble" (127), but the fact is that he never puts forth any argument at all. Nor, as I have already pointed out, does he answer the arguments made by others. His own meditations on his dilemma yield pain and little else. He does not think for himself or stand up for himself but

rather wavers, though perhaps a better word might be "bounds," because "wavers" implies that the force acting on the object (Harding) is within itself.

Harding's "wavering" is rather the result of external forces; he is an inert old man who is torn between sophists, until he sees the chance to give his son-in-law the slip and escape in the only way possible. The *Jupiter* finally decides for him, only because something external finally has to. In this sense the plot of the novel is, as it were, faithful to the laws of physics; the pressure, the turmoil, the bounding back and forth steadily grows more intense until somehow the tension has to be relieved. Harding finally resigns as the only way to escape the pressures from the public and from Grantly. Escape is what motivates him. There is no moral growth and, therefore, there can be no final moral judgment.

A telling clue to Harding's motivation is his reaction to the apparent regret of his resignation on the part of the beadsmen. Harding takes little responsibility for the new situation the beadsmen find themselves in; he expresses a kind of helpless regret, as though the negative results of his resignation are lamentable, but something he had little control over. His attitude is not that of a man who has made a moral decision that, although it has had some negative side effects, he is willing to take responsibility for, but of a man who, as a result of circumstances, has simply felt it best to give up. When he sits down with the beadsmen, he tells them, "I am sure you did not wish to turn me out, but I thought it best to leave you. I am not a very good hand at a lawsuit ..." (194). So although he does not verbally blame them for what has happened, neither does he break the connection between their actions and the occupation he has lost.

And inconsistent with Harding's alleged heroism is the novel's symmetry, the fact that Trollope satirizes both sides of the novel's controversy with equal relish, refraining from a show of favor for either side, as is made clear by, for one example of many, the Pessimist Anticant-Popular Sentiment section. Ross Murfin, one of many to make this argument, has said what is surely true, that the prevailing pattern of the novel is one of nonresolution, noncompromise, that "the novel's central dilemma [goes] utterly unresolved" (22). And if the warden is caught in the middle, if he represents what Murfin calls the "gap" between these two sides, surely that gap has to be neutral, and a decision on the part of Harding even slightly in favor of the *Jupiter's* side of the issue detracts from the novel's symmetry. If, however, Harding's move is interpreted as motivated only by a desire for peace, he remains neutral and the symmetry of the novel remains intact. I

alluded to this theory earlier with apRoberts, who has herself not only admitted, but eagerly declared, interestingly enough, that such symmetrical structure is not *part* of the novel but *is* the novel (17). And Haskin, whose argument in this light appears to be the more consistent one, bases his argument that Harding *does* make an ethical decision on his unique opinion that Trollope slightly favors Bold's side of the issue (45).

Trollope creates in the reader a desire to excuse Harding. He depicts an ethically weak, if likeable character, and tests our discerning abilities. Critics have tried for years to emphasize an ethical resolution in Harding because he is more than endearing enough to receive the benefit of our doubts. He has been made into a "hero" when in fact he has only a limited, ultimately outweighed amount of ethical concern. What Trollope does with Harding is similar to but much less pronounced than what Shakespeare does with Jack Falstaff; he creates a character whose bad points ultimately outweigh his good ones, and then makes that character so likeable that the reader attempts to *seek out* redeeming qualities. While Falstaff is simply a very entertaining scoundrel, Trollope gives Harding a degree of moral concern, if an insufficient one, and makes the temptation to call him a "hero" almost irresistible.

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**THE APOTHEOSIS OF THE HERO IN
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY TRAGEDY:
A LOOK AT ADDISON'S *CATO* AND HOME'S
*DOUGLAS***

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Joseph Addison's *Cato* and John Home's *Douglas* remain to this day two of the most popular yet often overlooked works of tragedy during a century when comedy—with the prominence of playwrights like Congreve, Farquhar, Goldsmith, and Sheridan—dominated English theaters. In referring to *Douglas* (1756), Ernest Campbell Mossner proclaims: "Its nearest rival in popularity, indeed, was Addison's *Cato*, as far back as 1713".¹ The connection between the two plays seems a natural one, especially considering the heroic virtues that both authors locate in their respective heroes. And as literature can do perhaps more saliently than any other art form, the popularity of these tragedies relates a great deal to us about the cultural milieu in which they first appeared.

Cato and *Douglas* share an importance, not only in the popularity they garnered and the controversy surrounding their stage debuts, but in the fact that the hero of both plays achieves an apotheosis. Addison himself had pointed out in *Spectator* No. 39 (1711): "A virtuous man (says Seneca) struggling with misfortunes is such a spectacle as the gods might look upon with pleasure."² And the spirit in which humans struggle with misfortunes, as well as the magnitude of this struggle, or *agon*, determines whether or not a person achieves heroic status. Perhaps the most telling characteristic that we see in the figures of Cato and Douglas is their unwavering, if unrealistic, virtue, because this aspect of their characters leads them both to certain death but also to a subsequent exalted status.

Joseph Campbell, the comparative mythologist who ironically enjoyed a cult following akin to an apotheosis after his death in 1987, has identified a template for the hero's coming into being as such. These so-called rites of passage Campbell refers to as "the nuclear unit of the monomyth," whereby, "a hero ventures forth from the world of common day into a region of supernatural wonder: fabulous forces are there encountered and a decisive victory is won: the hero comes back from this mysterious adventure with the power to bestow boons on his

fellow man.”³ Like Yeats’s gyres (and most likely a revisionary descendant of Yeats’s mythical method), Campbell’s template for the quest motif diagrammatically forms a circular pattern. And both Cato and Douglas achieve an apotheosis because they fulfill the cycle of the monomyth, or the formula for heroism in Western mythology.

Superficial observation of these two plays would note that neither Cato nor Douglas returns victorious from the fields of battle (Cato, in fact, does not even participate in battle.), as well as that both figures die before the final curtain falls on either play; in other words, neither man returns to “bestow boons on his fellow man”—literally, that is; Campbell reiterated throughout his lectures and public television series on myths that literal interpretation of the monomyth—and myths, too—undermines the metaphorical impulse of literature. As allegories, the deaths of Cato and Douglas initiate the deification of those hopes and ideals for which they died. Every hero thus represents a symbolic “return” of the previous hero, the embodiment of the same lofty ideals retailored to fit the specific era (a system analogous to Harold Bloom’s theory of precursor poets). But the hero of tragedy must become the sacrificial lamb, just as the etymology of the word tragedy (the Greek *tragoidia*, or ‘goat[lamb] song’) suggests. Campbell asserts the importance attached to the death of the hero: “the hero of yesterday becomes the tyrant of tomorrow unless he crucifies himself today” (p. 353). This theory can be validated by the literature of Western civilization, except possibly in modernity, where popular heroes are able to recreate the “self” rather than crucify themselves, a post-Freudian wrinkle on Oedipus’ self-blinding.

The swift fates of Cato and Douglas in these plays reflect some important analogies to figures like Christ and Oedipus: that life’s temporal condition rushes onward, and that we often face circumstances neither of our making or choosing. Yet in order to maintain the dignity of a culture, heroes commit to community ideals rather than their own self-importance. Though this concept might sound too altruistic, and anachronistic in our age of Hollywood, MTV, and sports stars, we witness Cato and Douglas seizing their opportunities for immortality in a converse manner: self-sacrifice. And because of Cato’s and Douglas’s prominence in their respective societies, their deeds lead to their valorization.

Because Cato and Douglas are victims of circumstances not of their own making, herein lies the Christ-like typology that allows for their apotheoses. Cato takes on insurmountable odds in challenging Caesar’s army over the issue of free rule, and Douglas patriotically heeds a call

to arms, unaware of the political treachery one might encounter on account of noble lineage. Their virtuous actions foil others' flaws, and their devotion to their ideals and unflinching acceptance of fate, however unrealistic and saccharine each case may seem, are still admirable qualities. Furthermore, our empathic response to the contextualities of Cato's and Douglas's dilemmas, though allegorical, inspires us to their level of commitment to solidarity and personal integrity.

Douglas says to his mother, Lady Randolph, just before he slays the villainous Glenalvon in self-defense: "If in this strife I fall, blame not your son,/ Who, if he lives not honored, must not live" (V: 170-71). Douglas makes this charge only moments after the pair had been made aware of their familial relationship. Likewise, the historical figure Cato, was greatly revered in his own age, and in the generations that followed Cato's life, Roman men of letters extol his heroism: Sallust in his histories, Plutarch in his *Lives*, Lucan in his poetry, and Seneca in his philosophical treatises, all show an admiration for his heroic virtues and strength of character. Cato's virtues embody those of the Republic, which differed ideologically with the Empire that followed. Even Cicero, who as an elder statesman at the time of Cato's death and one who rarely commented favorably on Cato, claimed that he manifested:

what strength there is in character, in integrity, in greatness of soul, and in that which remains unshaken by violent storms; which shines in darkness; which though dislodged from its home; is radiant always by its own light and never sullied by the baseness of others.⁴

These plaudits illustrate Cato's magnificence in the classical world, as governor of Utica within the Roman Republic. But more important, this deference reveals that Cato appeals to a set of laws beyond those of a Rome headed towards Empire; his laws are those of freedom, integrity, and human dignity.

In Act I, Cato's sons, Portius and Marcus, sound a paean on their father's Roman virtues, as does the Numidian prince, Juba, who happens to be secretly in love with Cato's daughter, Marcia. This opening scene, which sets the tone for the whole play, informs us that Cato is an embattled governor who stands upon principle in the face of insurmountable odds. Portius comments: "His sufferings shine, and spread a glory round him;/ Greatly unfortunate, he fights the cause/ Of honor, virtue, liberty, and Rome" (I,i, 30-32). Yet some critics see Cato as quite unrealistic in his ideals: Bonamy Dobrée calls him an

“intolerable prig” and recalls John Dennis’s remarks that he sacrifices his son, liberty, and his country as well, all for stoical pride.⁵ Perhaps Cato is uncompromising to extremes, which almost always means metaphoric death to a politician. But Cato’s failings as a politician stem from his convictions that run counter to tyranny. And like Douglas, if he cannot live with honor, then he will not live: “Justice gives way to force: the conquered world/ Is Caesar’s: Cato has no business in it” (IV, iv, ll. 23-24). Cato’s stoic death reflects the play’s allegorical judgment against imperialism, for Rome’s exploitative measures in empire building becomes a suitable analogy for eighteenth-century Europe, which would experience a major revolution both in the New World and the Old.

Despite the manifold similarities between the Augustan Age in England and Rome during the time of Cato and Julius Caesar, the attitudes towards suicide in the eighteenth-century had evolved into the kind of taboos that still seek to outlaw euthanasia, or the value system which supports the notion of life with dignity or no life at all. For the Roman, however, there was a sense of honor—though one can hardly help thinking of Falstaff’s soliloquy, in *Henry IV, pt. I*, on the emptiness of honor in death as an alternative view—in dying by the sword, whether one’s own, or not. Furthermore, Cato’s own peculiar situation is, like all suicides, both a complicated and complex issue. He knows that his death will exculpate his family and his senators. Furthermore, Cato recognizes the fate of defeated generals (like Vercingetorix, the Celtic leader who in 52 B.C. was paraded through Rome in a cage) and decides against a similar fate: “Would Lucius[his son] have me live to swell the number/ Of Caesar’s slaves, or by a base submission/ Give up the cause of Rome, and own a tyrant” (29-31). Cato understands that in dying a Roman’s death he dies with dignity in the *cause célèbre* of “virtue, liberty, and Rome,” which M. M. Kelsall calls the key words of the play (155). Thus Cato becomes a martyr and a model, the *beau idéal* for republican virtues. Addison even makes Cato into a Horatian theorist, preferring the Republic over the Empire and a pastoral existence to urban life, which he advises his son Lucius to take:

Let me advise thee to retreat betimes
To thy paternal seat, the Sabine field,
Where the great Censor toiled with his own hands,
And all our frugal ancestors were blest
In humble virtues and a rural life.
There live retired, pray for the peace of Rome:

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Content thyself to be obscurely good.
When vice prevails, and impious men bear sway,
The post of honour is a private station. (IV, iv)

It is appropriate that just before his suicide, Cato meditates on Plato's ideas of the immortality of the soul (in *The Phaedo*): " 'Tis the divinity that stirs within us;/ 'Tis heav'n itself, that points out an hereafter,/ And intimates an eternity to man./ Eternity! thou pleasing dreadful thought!" (ll. 7-10). In this scene Cato apprehends the divine vision of what he will become once he eliminates his corporeal existence: immortal:

Thus I am doubly armed; My death and life,
My bane and antidote, are both before me:
This [sword] in a moment brings me to an end;
But this informs me I shall never die.
The soul, secured in her existence, smiles
At the drawn dagger, and defies the point.
The stars shall fade away, the sun himself
Grow dim with age, and nature sink in years;
But thou shalt flourish in immortal youth,
Unhurt amidst the wars of elements,
The wrecks of matter, and the crush of worlds.
(V, i, 21-31)

In this rather sublime conjecture Cato transcends the constraints of physical existence in a temporal world, a world of opportunists like Sempronius and traitors like Syphax, which, he recognizes, "was made for Caesar" (V, i, 19). Campbell explains the self-annihilation of the hero as a visionary experience in such a way that brings to mind Bishop Berkeley's—a contemporary of Addison's—ideas on the spiritual reality of the universe. "The basic problem," Campbell says, "is to enlarge the pupil of the eye, so that the 'body' with its attendant personality will no longer obstruct the view" (189). Such is the case with Cato, whose vision of immortality becomes inextricably linked with his commitment to the ideals of community and republican virtues.

Cato's subsequent suicide confirms both his selflessness and his vision of immortality, and it brings his apotheosis to fruition. What we had witnessed of Cato's noble ideals in Act I ascends to the mythic state of heroism, as his son Lucius eloquently and stoically laments Cato's death:

There fled the greatest soul that ever warmed
 A Roman breast. O Cato! O my friend!
 Thy will shall be religiously observed.
 But let us bear this awful corpse to Caesar,
 And lay it in his sight, that it may stand
 A fence betwixt us and the victor's wrath;
 Cato, though dead, shall still protect his friends.
 (V, iv, 100-106)

This scene evokes a pathos reminiscent of Priam's after the death and disfigurement of his son, Hector, at the hands and wrath of Achilles. For as in *The Iliad*, the dead corpse is used as an instrument of appeal to the victor's sympathies.

Any viewer or reader of *Cato* can identify with the psychological struggle Cato undergoes at the opening of the play over whether or not to join Caesar's growing regime. But these expedient measures would mean submission to tyranny. As Cato says in Act IV, after his dead son Marcus has been placed in front of his grieving court: "Alas! my friends! Why mourn you thus? let not a private loss/ Afflict your hearts. 'Tis Rome requires our tears" (iv, 88-90). Prig though he may be, this creed exhibits a resolute determination to rebel against despots. And it is not surprising that *Cato* was President Washington's favorite play—he requested its performance during the winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge to inspire his troops. For this reason Robert Halsband calls *Cato* "the most important drama of the eighteenth century".⁶ Cato represents not only the consummate patriot, but he also embodies the philosopher-king of Plato's *Republic*: he will not become the pragmatist and compromise the ideals for which his son has died.

Furthermore, there is an overriding allegory within the historical context of 1713 (the year in which the play made its debut) concerning England's involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession. With Queen Anne, old and infirm, and having no legitimate successor, Whigs saw the Duke of Marlborough—a proponent for continuing the war—in light of Cato and his stand on liberty. The Tories, however, saw the dictatorial Caesar as an allegorical representation of Marlborough (Stone 474). Perhaps this controversy merely reminds us of the ambiguous nature of political allegory, despite which Cato remains an *exemplum* for political leaders to follow as he stands for ideals that each member of the community should hold sacred: liberty and loyalty.

As with *Cato*, we find in *Douglas* inspiration for a commitment to ideals that stand above deceit and corruption. In Home's play, the death of the heroic Young Norval (and heir to the Douglas estate) perpetuates

the mythic cycle and signals an apotheosis for the fallen warrior. Although the circumstances with Douglas's quest motif differ from those of Cato, the cycle of the monomyth remains complete nonetheless. As with Cato, Douglas ascends to heroic stature because he symbolically completes the hero's rites of passage: separation from the world, penetration of some source of power, and life enhancing return.

When Douglas arrives upon the scene as Young Norval in Act I, we soon become aware that Lady Randolph is indeed his biological mother and that his father was the heroic warrior, Douglas, who died in battle before his son was born. After meeting Young Norval, Lady Randolph comments to Anna, her confidante: "I thought, that had the son of Douglas lived,/ He might have been like this young gallant stranger" (II,i, 164-165). The rather fantastic history underlying the events of the play is a pastiche of several and readily identifiable myths, such as the stories of Oedipus and Moses.

Perhaps the genius of Home's play remains that *Douglas* abounds in mythical archetypes. Fearing for the life of the Douglas infant, Anna had placed him in a sylvan stream; that the hero's life is threatened in infancy is, of course, a common strain in Western mythology, a motif which sets up the mother-son reunion between Lady Randolph and Young Norval as one of epic fatalism. In the meantime, Lady Randolph had assumed that her infant died during labor. But in Act III Lady Randolph meets Old Norval, a prisoner who has in his possession the Douglas crest, and he tells her of his rescuing an infant boy from a stream and that he now flourishes in "youth, health, and beauty" (III, i, 118). Thus, Douglas's "separation from the world" has been since the time of his birth, and his idealized pastoral education from Old Norval represents his penetration into the source of power, like a John the Baptist or Merlin figure, as Joseph Campbell would say. These circumstances set up Douglas's return as one of mythic proportion. When Douglas recognizes his identity at the end of the play, the event brings to mind the similar discovery of Telemachus in *The Odyssey* because their quests are ostensibly about identity.

The complications affecting this reunion serve to drive the play forward. In Act IV Lady Randolph reveals to Young Norval that she is his mother, that Lord Randolph is the younger brother of his fallen father and her first husband, Douglas, and that he (Young Norval) is the rightful heir to the estate that Lord Randolph will not relinquish. This disclosure completes Young Norval's identity quest and initiates a new dilemma with outright analogies to Hamlet's. (Based on an old

Scottish ballad, *Douglas* was one of the plays that helped initiate the Shakespeare revival.) But Home's play also recalls *Macbeth* in more than its setting and aristocratic feuds. The emotionally fraught Lady Randolph remains the central figure of the play and calls to mind Lady Macbeth, except she lacks any manifestation of an evil streak. Nevertheless, Lady Randolph, upon hearing the news of her newly discovered son's death commits suicide by drowning; the violent passion of Lady Macbeth is evident, but this occurrence harkens back to *Hamlet* and Ophelia's act of reprisal against the misogyny of her world. (This reader finds it a rather pedestrian and perhaps cluttered handling of Shakespearean elements, particularly because of its heavy-handed Christian righteousness and streaks of maudlin sentimentalism.) Nonetheless, the scenes between Lady Randolph and Young Norval are, as Calhoun Winton has stated, "the high points of the drama."⁷ The discovery that they are mother and son has an even deeper meaning in its mythic suggestiveness, which Campbell articulates:

The mystical marriage with the queen goddess of the world represents the hero's total mastery of life; for the woman is life, and the hero is its knower and master. And the testings of the hero, which were preliminary to his ultimate experience and deed, were symbolical of those crises of realization by means of which his consciousness came to be amplified and made capable of enduring the full possession of the mother-destroyer, his inevitable bride. With that he knows that he and his father are one; he is in the father's place. (120-121)

The union of Lady Randolph and her son clearly symbolizes this mystical marriage, the life-perpetuating image of madonna-and-child. Likewise, Douglas's death in her arms (in Act V) might be seen in these same iconographical terms as symbolic of the *pietà*. Home, pastor at the Presbyterian church in Ahtelstanford until this play—and the pastime of playwriting—proved too controversial for the clergyman to endure, has combined archetypal patterns with the haunting landscape and medieval lore of the Scottish Border in a way that anticipates the romances of Scott. Add to these characteristics the gothic element (Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto*, often considered as the first gothic novel, was published in the same year as *Douglas*), and Home's play, whatever its shortcomings when compared to Shakespeare's tragedies, remains a very respectable drama—an enterprise which the Romantics found next to impossible.

Audiences and readers of Home's play, as with *Cato*, are finally confronted with the ultimate transitoriness of life, as well as suicidal acts on the part of the central figures. Like the figure of Cato, Young Norval, the titular hero of *Douglas* (as he is referred to in the final two acts of the text), must die for ideals to attain a Christ-like apotheosis. Affecting though both are, they lack full development as characters, and neither has any trace of a flaw, much less one as tragic as hubris; in fact, Addison's *Cato* comes close to self-parody at moments. But until recently, we in Western civilization wanted our heroes to have no blemishes.

Cato and Douglas do, however, become beacons for liberty, honor, and courage, and foes to tyranny during a century in which the ideals of democracy made great advances; for this reason alone, the heroism which both Cato and Douglas exude has immense relevance. Yet peculiar to the mode of apotheosis, these two plays are tragedies because virtuous and idealistic figures are portrayed as victims of a corrupt world, and their deaths represent the metaphorical rebirth of the standards for which they died—a standard which the living can only deify unless one is willing to commit suicide.

NOTES

¹Ernest C. Mossner, "Hume and the Scottish Shakespeare," *HLQ* 3 (1941), 423.

²George W. Stone, Jr. ed., *British Dramatists from Dryden to Sheridan* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1969), p. 473.

³Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (Princeton, 1949), p. 30.

⁴M. M. Kelsall, "The Meaning of Addison's *Cato*," *RES* 17 (1966), 150.

⁵Bonamy Dobree, *Restoration Tragedy (1660-1720)* (Oxford, 1929), p. 175.

⁶Robert Halsband, "Addison's *Cato* and Lady Worley Montagu," *PMLA* 65 (1950), 1122.

⁷Calhoun Winton, "The Tragic Muse in Enlightened England," *Greene Essay Studies: Presented to David Greene in the Centennial Year of USC*, ed. Paul J. Korshin and Robert R. Allen (Charlottesville, 1984), p. 140.

WHEN THE PRIEST IS A WOMAN: FEMALE CLERGY AND THE DETECTIVE NOVEL

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From the classic Father Brown mysteries to the Father Dowling stories of recent book and television fame, clergymen, particularly priests, have been amateur detectives or at least active participants in many mystery novels. Sometimes the priests become involved because a parishioner or acquaintance is a suspect or the crime occurs on church property; sometimes they are suspects themselves; sometimes they are brought into a case because of their specialized knowledge of the Church or of human behavior. Although they are often viewed by outsiders as somehow naive, this is rarely the case. As Father Brown says to Flambeau in "The Blue Cross": "Has it never struck you that a man who does next to nothing but hear men's real sins is not likely to be wholly unaware of human evil?"¹

Although generally less well known than Msgr. Blackie Ryan or Father Robert Koesler,² a large percentage of the detective-novel priests are Anglican. This is true of British novelist Canon Victor Lorenzo Whitechurch's character Vicar Westerham, of C. A. Alington's archdeacons, of American writer Margaret Sherf's Martin Buell, and of numerous others.³ However, women of any denomination are notably scarce in clerical detective fiction.

In the post-World War II novels of Matthew Head, Dr. Mary Finney and Emily Collins are missionaries in the Congo.⁴ More recently, David Willis McCullough's amateur investigator Ziza Todd is a member of the Presbyterian clergy, although she holds non-traditional positions in youth ministry.⁵ Religious orders provide a much larger variety of women. From H. H. Holmes' Sister Ursula of the 1940's to Monica Quill's Sister Mary Teresa, to Sister Carol Anne O'Marie's delightful Sister Mary Helen, there have been a variety of nuns as major characters in detective fiction.⁶ Nevertheless, despite their membership in a variety of orders, not one of the nuns mentioned happens to be Anglican. However, the only women priests are, of course, Anglican, and a number of them appear in Isabelle Holland's novels.⁷

Like male priests, Claire Aldington and other female Episcopal priests combine the performance of their professional responsibilities with their involvement in crime. They draw a sense of peace and a restoration of perspective from prayer and from the Mass; they use

their understanding of the church and their knowledge of people to solve puzzles. However, two key differences affect character and plot when the priest is a woman. The women often have family responsibilities, sometimes both a husband and children, and they always face lack of understanding, criticism, or even threats from people who disapprove of the admission of women to the priesthood. The Reverend Doctor Claire Aldington, Holland's main character, is in her mid-30's, holds a degree in clinical psychology obtained before she entered seminary, and works as one of several assistants at St. Anselm's Church in New York. She has primary responsibility for the pastoral counseling department in a large parish with many activities, including an internationally famous boys' choir. In fact, St. Anselm's seems very like the Church of St. Thomas on 5th Avenue, although Holland gives her fictional parish an address a few blocks away.

Aldington explains her duties to police detective O'Neill: "I'm a pastoral counselor. That is, I work in the chancel on Sunday—read the liturgy, consecrate, conduct the service or assist—like any of the other priests. But during the week I conduct private and group therapy."⁸ She preaches two Sundays each month at the 9:30 family service, and occasionally at the 11:00 Eucharist at which the famous boys' choir sings.

So much for the description of her official functions. However, one might also expect some exploration of the spiritual life of a priest. As the first person narrator of *A Fatal Advent* she explains, "Participating in the liturgy, leading the prayers, reading the lessons from the Old and New Testaments—all these gave me the sense of sharing immense and ancient riches; they brought peace, assurance, even exaltation. But composing a ten-minute homily was a duty that I avoided as often as possible."⁹ Later, she describes her response to a weekday noon Eucharist: "Celebrating the liturgy had always either calmed me, when I was upset, or exhilarated me, when I was depressed or tired. Some magic in the ancient words seemed there, regardless of my mood."¹⁰ In *A Lover Scorned* she celebrates an evening Eucharist and finds the "words and ritual healing and restoring."¹¹ Sitting in the congregation at a 7:30 a.m. weekday service, she reminds herself that she once attended the early Eucharist daily: "Then life and a busy schedule and not enough time to sleep had interfered, and she attended only when she was the celebrant and was much the poorer for it. Sitting there...she marveled how she could have let slide anything so necessary to her peace of mind."¹² The spiritual benefits and meditative nature of

various services are emphasized on a number of occasions in the novels.

We also see Claire Aldington working with other members of the staff and interacting with clients. She is a "practical, pragmatic and rather down-to-earth" woman who is "inclined to help people where they are" rather than attempting to change the way the world works—as her late husband Patrick did.¹³ She gives her clients their full time and is generally able to "block out everything except the client sitting across from her."¹⁴ Nevertheless, she is subject to doubts, anger, and frustration both in her work and in her personal life. Critic William David Spencer, who wrote *Mysterium and Mystery: The Clerical Crime Novel*, clearly dislikes her. He describes her as "a rather catty, unpleasant person," based on her appearance in *A Death at St. Anselm's* alone, but he does admit that Holland shows that "the clergy are indeed human."¹⁵ The first-person narrative of *A Death at St. Anselm's*, is as Spencer points out, unusual in clerical mysteries. The extent to which we hear her thoughts in the first novel and continue to see much of her personal life in *A Lover Scorned* and *A Fatal Advent* allows a more revealing picture of the total person than is generally the case of priest-characters. Spencer summarizes his analysis: "Unpleasant and obnoxious as she may be, collar not withstanding, the Reverend Claire Aldington strikes a truer ministerial note than many more integrated and at times nearly superhuman clerical sleuths. She is in a true sense the image of a suffering servant."¹⁶

Claire Aldington may not be up to Spencer's standards for the ideal priest, the ideal clinical psychologist, or the ideal woman. However, in *A Death at St. Anselm's* as a widow who has an eight year old son, a thirteen year old anorexic stepdaughter with a meddling grandmother, a murdered business-manager colleague, a rector who tries not only to undermine her program but to blame her for the crime, and a budding relationship with conservative banker and vestryman Brett Cunningham, she does well to salvage both her professional and personal lives. In the next two novels, the character continues to develop in both her clerical and private roles.

What makes Claire Aldington different from her male counterparts? One thing is her role as a clinical psychologist. Some characters resent her level of education and specialization; some do not understand or agree with the function of psychological counseling; some (despite her doctorate and experience) find it difficult to believe she is a real counselor because she lacks an M.D. degree, works in a church, and calls the people she counsels clients instead of patients; some resent the

expenditure of church resources on a pastoral counseling program (although clients pay on a sliding scale according to their means). All of these issues *could* also apply to a male priest in the same job. Whether they *would* all actually apply to the same extent is debatable. There is one indisputable difference: Claire Aldington is a woman. Not everyone, clergy or laity, male or female, is ready to accept a woman as a priest. This is no surprise to her or to anyone else. She is the niece of a bishop who held out against the ordination of women, the revised prayer book, and even folk masses.¹⁷ She, like anyone else acquainted with the Episcopal Church since the 1960's, is fully aware of the pressures for and against a variety of changes. As her friend and colleague Larry Swade points out, St. Anselm's too has had its history of battles between conservatives and liberals: "outreach against anti-outreach, the Dear Old Prayer Book against the Horrid New Rite, the ordination of women."¹⁸ Furthermore, she is subject to the standard argument against working women, particularly those with children. In a moment of self-doubt, she is reminded of the claim: "*What you ought to do is stay home and take care of your children...*" All the ancient voices were there, internalized, combining with the severe, reproving voice of her own mother....¹⁹ Nevertheless, in *A Lover Scorned* Swade states that as a "female cleric in a male bastion," she seems "blessedly free" from what she refers to the "insecurities and defenses afflicting women clergy."²⁰ Despite her vocation, Claire Aldington is not a strong feminist; neither is she remarkably assertive. Nevertheless, negative reactions from others to her vocation range from cold looks to critical remarks to the ominously threatening comment from a priest's sister: "...I consider that a woman—any woman—who tries to take over the sacramental duties of a man like my brother is committing some kind of blasphemy and should be punished. As you will be punished...."²¹

Claire Aldington is always balancing her professional responsibilities with her personal commitments. She offers this explanation to the new rector, Douglas Barnet: "I have my therapy work and am not that involved in the women's or discussion groups or the Bible studies—probably not as much as I should be. But I have the two children at home and try not to be away more than a couple of nights a week."²²

There is also a developing relationship with Brett Cunningham. From serious antagonism over the funding of the counseling program and other parish issues at the beginning of *A Death at St. Anselm's*, to some rather stormy dating through *A Lover Scorned*, to a mutually

supportive marriage in *A Fatal Advent*, this relationship also requires time and energy. When she and the children are threatened, Cunningham wants to marry her immediately and move in to provide additional protection. Believing in the value of a traditional religious ceremony, she holds out for a church wedding, although a small private one, instead of going to City Hall. As she tells Detective O'Neill, she is both a priest and a mother with children at home, and she has " 'always believed in the precept. Don't tell, do.' " ²³

In the second Claire Aldington mystery, *A Lover Scorned*, two women priests of Claire's acquaintance are killed and brutally mutilated, and the murderer almost adds her to the total. Because of her acquaintance with Detective O'Neill, the fact that she knew the Reverend Ida Blake, and her knowledge of the church, Claire Aldington is brought into this case from the first.

Another woman priest, the Reverend Sarah Buchanan edits a church magazine and assists at St. Paul's on the Lower East Side. In speculating about the reasons for the death of Ida Blake (was it a woman hater, a woman-priest hater?), she describes her former fellow seminarian: "Ida was so ordinary—your nice, bright, wholesome girl, who came along at a time when it was possible for a woman to be ordained and who decided to devote her life to serving God and her fellow humans." ²⁴ She tells Claire, "I'm as anxious to help the police find her killer as you are" and points out that if the motive was Ida's vocation, she too has a "vested interest" in the apprehension of the killer. ²⁵ There is another, not too surprising, source of tension in her professional life. Before rushing away after a lunch, Sarah explains, "My boss is one of those who feels the Church made a grave mistake in letting women be ordained, and I don't want to feed his paranoia by being late around production time." ²⁶ Again, simply being a woman adds another dimension to the common pressures and rewards of the priesthood.

Is there a special connection between priests and detection? In his article "Sleuths in the Parish," Father Roland M. Kawano points out that Father Brown, like Jane Marple, Hercule Poirot, and Rabbi David Small, possesses the essential quality of being "humble before the evidence." Likewise, he says, in confronting the difficulties of pastoral ministry, "to see things as they are is to take a long step toward a solution." ²⁷ As he shows, there is, in fact, more resemblance between the demands on fictional detectives and on parish priests than might be expected. Religion and detection seem natural companions, from Daniel's Old Testament puzzle solving to the latest Andrew Greeley

bestseller. As we read contemporary versions of the clerical crime story, however, we are increasingly asked to examine the place of the priest as a member of the clergy and as a man, or a woman, in the modern world.

NOTES

¹Gilbert Keith Chesterton, *The Father Brown Omnibus* (New York, 1951), p. 23.

²William X. Kienzie has published several Father Robert Koesler novels, beginning in 1979. Andrew M. Greeley has published Msgr. Blackie Ryan novels since 1985.

³William David Spencer. *Mysterium and Mystery: The Clerical Crime Novel* (Ann Arbor, 1989), pp. 194, 207, 214.

⁴T. J. Binyon, *Murder Will Out: The Detective in Fiction* (New York, 1990), p. 65.

⁵David Willis McCullough, *Think on Death* (New York, 1991) and *Point No-Point* (New York, 1992). In *Think on Death* Ziza (long *i* to rhyme with Liza), Todd is a seminarian researching American religious communities for a masters' thesis. While visiting a corporation, which was once a utopian community in Smyrna, New York, she tries to solve both past and present mysteries of the community. In *Point No-Point* she is a youth minister for an inter-denominational Sunday school in a small Hudson River town. She does not have traditional parish-ministry experience, and again in this novel the focus is not primarily on her clerical role.

⁶Sister Carol Anne O'Marie *A Novena for Murder* (New York, 1984). Writing as H. H. Holmes in the 1940's, William Anthony Parker White produced Sister Ursula, whom William Daniel Spencer terms an "archetypal" figure of the "wise woman" in his study *Mysterium and Mystery: The Clerical Crime Novel* (102). The French Sister of Charity, physician, and wielder of a Father-Brown-like umbrella, Soeur Angele appeared in the 1950's (Spencer 107). More recently, we have Sister Mary Teresa, like Father Roger Dowling the creation of conservative philosopher Ralph M. McInerny. Under the name Monica Quill, McInerny has created a retired professor of history who still pursues serious scholarship when she is not solving mysteries. The other investigator-nun of contemporary note is Sister Carol Anne, O'Marie's Sister Mary Helen. Although she has retired to mount St. Frances College for Women in San Francisco, Sister Mary Helen is anything but withdrawn from the activities of the college, or from her own enjoyment of a good walk or a good book—preferably a mystery, tucked carefully into her "faithful paperback cover—one with ribbon markers and all" (*A Novena* 14). As she explains to young Sister Anne, "Late Afternoon...old gray-haired nun...sitting alone with book in lap. Everyone expects a prayer book. Right?" "Then, why blow the stereotype?" (15). See also Ralph McInerny, *Second Vespers* (New York, 1980) and

WHEN THE PRIEST IS A WOMAN

Julian Symons, *Bloody Murder: From the Detective Story to the Crime Novel, A History* (New York, 1985).

⁷Isabelle Holland, *A Death at St. Anselm's* (New York, 1984); *A Fatal Advent* (New York, 1989); *A Lover Scorned* (New York, 1986).

⁸Holland, *Death* 67.

⁹Holland, *Death* 136-37.

¹⁰Holland, *Death* 220-221.

¹¹Holland, *Lover* 90.

¹²Holland, *Lover* 131.

¹³Holland, *Death* 172, 110.

¹⁴Holland, *Lover* 55.

¹⁵Spencer 248, 252.

¹⁶Spencer 253.

¹⁷Holland, *Death* 9.

¹⁸Holland, *Death* 39.

¹⁹Holland, *Death* 47.

²⁰Holland, *Lover* 10.

²¹Holland, *Lover* 243.

²²Holland, *Lover* 107.

²³Holland, *Lover* 231.

²⁴Holland, *Lover* 25.

²⁵Holland, *Lover* 27.

²⁶Holland, *Lover* 28.

²⁷Roland M. Kawano, "Sleuths in the Parish," *The Christian Ministry* 17.3 (May 1986), 27-28.

GEARING UP: COMPOSITIONAL ORDER IN *VANDOVER AND THE BRUTE*¹

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To equate an author with his protagonist is always risky—more precarious still if the latter turns into a beast. Yet the term *alter ego*, or second self, which incorporates difference even as it identifies, aptly suits the close yet complex relation between Frank Norris and the eponymous hero in *Vandover and the Brute*. The novel invites readers familiar with Norris's background to step blithely through the minefield of Wimsatt's biographical fallacy and associate Norris with Vandover. Author and character both enrolled at Harvard, Norris for but one year, Van for the customary four. Vandover planned on studying in Europe; Norris actually did so. Like Vandover, Norris was gifted in the pictorial arts and began his career as a painter. Vandover, "possess[ing] the fundamental *afflatus* that underlies all branches of art," flirted with being an author, then settled by "merest chance" on painting.² Norris and Vandover also conceive of a pictorial "*chef-d'oeuvre*," which they fail to begin much less complete. But where Norris's procrastinations launched his writing career, Van's foreshadow his decline.³ Even so, prior to Van's fall Norris appraises his character's talent in words suggesting self-assessment:

His style was sketchy, conscientious, full of strength and decision. He worked in large lines, broad surfaces, and masses of light and shade. His colour was good, running to purples, reds, and admirable greens, full of bitumen and raw sienna. Though he had no idea of composition, he was clever enough to acknowledge it. His finished pictures were broad reaches of landscape, deserts, shores, and moors in which he placed solitary figures of men or animals in a way that was very effective....The effects he wished to produce were light and heat....Portrait work and the power to catch subtle intellectual distinctions in a face were sometimes beyond him, but his feeling for the flesh, and for the movement and character of a pose, was admirable. (VB, pp. 64, 66)

Reference to broad epic cast, lurid color scheme, and the "feeling for the flesh" patly accounts for much Naturalist technique, while other details may specifically allude to Norris. The "solitary figures" set in stark

landscapes, for instance, may foreshadow the ending to *McTeague*, perhaps Norris's most "finished picture," and a novel begun contemporaneously with *Vandover*.⁴ "Sketchy" and "conscientious" may be read as a positive valuation of Norris's more compulsive stylistic tendencies, such as repetition and hyperbole. Most intriguing is the dual-edged reference to Van having "no idea of composition," though being "clever enough to realize it"—a comment encompassing Norris's method in *Vandover and the Brute*.

To date, few of the most perceptive Norris scholars have credited the author with a compositional method in *Vandover*. Though impressively reconstructing Norris's early career, James D. Hart still treats the text as an apprentice novel, faulting its repetitiveness and abstract imagery (*NM*, pp. 45-46); Donald Pizer, in his seminal critical study of Norris, cites the book's "technical weaknesses" which make it an absorbing novel but not a "mature" one.⁵ Lately, Lee Clark Mitchell has pointed out method to Norris's madness for lists, hyperbole, and scattered images.⁶ Yet what even Mitchell neglects is the ordering desire behind such chaotic gesture, a desire Norris encodes not in Vandover, his degenerating protagonist, but in Geary, the figure who survives.

I shall argue below that the inconsistencies in *Vandover* largely account for the novel's allure; that a method to the text is founded on Norris's consciousness of his compositional shortcoming and consequent aim to turn this fault into a formalizing dynamic. *Vandover and the Brute* is Norris's first literary attempt to control the chaos depicted in his work and intrinsic to his style. In light of this effort, the stylistic flaws in *Vandover* need be reevaluated as possible strategies for creating order from disparate experiences. This reading, in turn, calls attention to the author's likeness not merely to his hero, Vandover, but to his anti-hero, Charles Geary. True, Geary is not at all a sympathetic figure, and the text does not explicitly condone his behavior. Few would dispute Don Graham's assessment that Geary is the "most rapacious character in the novel,"⁷ nor disagree with Pizer that he is "too much a scheming, self-preoccupied character to attract any warmth" (*NFN*, p. 42).⁸ Yet from another standpoint, Norris may be viewed to have adapted Geary's methods of control to his own compositional technique.

II.

Vandover's compositional problems are manifest in life long before apparent on canvas. We learn at the very outset that:

It was always a matter of wonder to Vandover that he was able to recall so little of his past life. With the exception of the most recent events he could remember nothing connectedly. What he at first imagined to be the story of his life, on closer inspection turned out to be but a few disconnected incidents that his memory had preserved with the greatest capriciousness, absolutely independent of their importance. One of these incidents might be a great sorrow, a tragedy, a death in the family; and another, recalled with the same vividness, the same accuracy of detail, might be a matter of the least moment. (VB, p. 5)

A demonstration of this trouble directly follows. Van's memory of his mother's death precedes a trivial recollection "in which he saw himself, a rank thirteen-year-old-boy ...playing with his guinea pigs" in his back yard. "In order to get at his life," the narrative continues, "Vandover would have been obliged to collect these scattered memory pictures as best he could, rearrange them in some more orderly sequence, piece out what he could imperfectly recall and fill in the many gaps by mere guesswork and conjecture" (VB, p. 5). With its temporal leaps and mood swings, the novel, especially when discussing Van's thought process, replicates Vandover's struggle to "get at his life." Yet as we shall see, Vandover is neither the only character in the work who seeks to order his experiences, nor the only one whose attempts the novel reenacts. Coming so early in the work, the passages cited above sound the keynote for depictions of a discomposed world, describable yet resistant to any ordering. This is a world of fire, earthquakes, shipwrecks, a world where glasses shatter in people's hands, nights on the town erupt in brawls, and society balls resemble ancient rites; where a prostitute looks like a milkmaid, a deaf-mute sings, and a man learns his fate from a bartender.

The constituents of order are themselves in disarray. Clocks, either broken or ignored, appear in several scenes.⁹ Communication is likewise ruptured. Words in dialogue are accented for no apparent reason; within which unstable discourse, *non sequiturs* are laced with significance. Geary's " 'Cherries are ripe!' " for instance, is said to

have “a hidden double meaning”; Ida Wade’s “ ‘It’s more fun than enough!’ ” sounds tragic in its context (VB, pp. 56, 176).

Abetting the confusion caused by suspect ordering devices are conflicting accounts of phenomena. Norris’s description of Flossie the prostitute (pp. 51-52) is a case in point. To say that Flossie *reeks* of purity gives some indication of the author’s paradoxical rendering. She is introduced as “an immense girl, quite six feet tall, broad and well-made,...full-throated, heavy-eyed, and slow in her movements.” As if associations with the country milkmaid were not yet sufficiently defined, Norris goes on to mention Flossie’s teeth, “regular as the rows and kernals of an ear of green corn.” Her face, on which there is “no perceptible cosmetic,” epitomizes purity; it has “a clean and healthy look as though she had just given it a vigorous washing.” Moments later, however, this face is said to bear “the unmistakable traces of a ruined virtue and a vanished innocence,” and to be unduly exposed as a “portion[] of her nudity.” Flossie’s scent is subject to the same incongruous portrayal. Her “air of cleanliness,...a delicious perfume that was not only musk, but that seemed to come alike from her dress, her hair, her neck, her very flesh and body” is alternately described as the “foul sweet savour of the great city’s vice,” the “odour of abandoned women.”

Yet the damning depiction does not displace the more attractive account of Flossie. Flossie may not merely *appear* the prototype of freshness; in contrast to “the general conception of women of her class [as] a painted and broken wreck,” Flossie genuinely “radiates health.” Thus when at the conclusion of her portrayal Norris writes that “she betrayed herself as soon as she spoke,” one is tempted to ask *which* “effect of her appearance” “was spoiled.” For an uncouth farm girl is as like a call girl to have “a low-pitched rasp[ing]” voice, “husky, throaty, and full of brutal, vulgar modulations.” To sum up, Norris’s rendering of Flossie is not simply patterned after a ‘fair without, foul within’ formula, or according to a narrative ordered sequentially to reveal a hidden truth. One can ‘read’ Flossie in any or all of three ways—as a foul prostitute whose exterior yields “the effect ...of a simplicity and severity so pronounced as to be very striking”; as a split personality encompassing *both* “the foul” and “freshness”; or as a unified being in whom foul and fresh are fused.¹⁰

Vandover contains many such conflicting renderings, raising questions that defy definitive response. Are Turner Ravis and Dolly Haight, for instance, virtuous or compromised? If compromised, is this the outcome of their behavior toward Van; or is this the consequence of

an intrinsic defect, “a stereotypical flatness deriving from their “attempt to be unmitigatedly ‘good’” (LP, p. 395) Is the description of the Wade household, of which every facet is an imitation, an elaborate metaphor for hollow social mores? Or (and?) does the exaggerated artifice of the house justify the constructed nature of the social world?¹¹ Are the simplistic dualisms drawn between Turner and Flossie, and between “good and evil” generally (VB, pp. 52, 215) to be taken seriously? Or do the style and seemingly arbitrary placement of these remarks invite sardonic interpretation?¹² The number of times Norris makes one stop to say “it could also be *thus*,” suggests his manipulation of the narrative to make his reader share with his characters both the impression of chaos and desire for its mitigation.

Yet Vandover’s attempts to rectify this chaos are at best half-hearted. An ordered world and ordered work are of little value to him. He approaches life and art with equal apathy. To “acknowledge” compositional failings and to right them are two distinct activities; acknowledgement merely causes Van to lessen his immediate discomforts. Incongruities of daily life—such as the fact that Van learns more about his shipwreck from a barkeep than from his own experience of the wreck—he “marvel[s] at” with “wondering curiosity” (VB, p. 149), then ignores. To order is simply his way of adapting to disorder, of “easily fitting ...into new grooves, reshaping [his character] to suit new circumstances” (VB, p. 27). This strategy hastens his downfall. Vandover the Dandy, soothed by his piano repertoire of the same three pieces “always played together and in the same sequence” (VB, p. 31), enacts a ritual comparable to Vandover the Outcast’s sequencing of meals: “On Monday he beat up and down the Barbary Coast, picking out fifteen or twenty saloons which supported a free lunch counter in connection with the bar. He took his breakfast Monday morning at the first of these. He paid five cents for a glass of beer and ate his morning’s meal at the lunch counter: stew, bread, and cheese. At noon he made his dinner at the second saloon on his route. Here he had another glass of beer, a great plate of soup, potato salad, and pretzels. Thus he managed to feed himself throughout the week” (VB, p. 320).

Order as a mode of adapting to conditions is figured specifically when Van loses his furnishings to creditors. Vandover’s own form of re-possession is to pin up placards reading “ ‘Pipe-rack Here,’ ” “ ‘Mona Lisa Here.’ ” So hideously satisfactory is this palliative that when he later has the means, Van reneges on his earlier pledge to buy back his belongings: “he suddenly realized that his oldtime desire was passed; he

had become so used to these surroundings that it now no longer made any difference to him whether or not they were cheerless, lamentable, barren. It was like all his other ambitions—he had lost the taste for them, nothing made much difference after all. His money had come too late” (VB, p. 280). The perverse ordering that occurs within Van’s mind at the height of his seizures, when “the objects in the range of his vision...move back and stand upon the same plane” (VB, pp. 226, 239), mimics his adjustment process of psychically reducing all conditions to the same plane.

Van’s companions are also obsessed with ordering. For Bancroft Ellis, order is an end in itself. Hence, his “curious passion for facts and statistics” printed in “little books and cards” with which he stuffs his pockets and to which he constantly refers, though his data are “never ...of the slightest [real] use to him” (VB, p. 46). Less pathetic than Bancroft’s devotion to postal rates and train schedules, though far more destructive, is Dolly Haight’s faith in “call[ing] things by their right name” (VB, p. 97). Dolly naively ascribes to things an order that he need only acknowledge to partake of—as if to recognize Flossie for what she was (presumably a simple task) were enough to shield him from her syphilitic kiss. Turner Ravis is less ingenuous than the men. In her relentless farewell to Van—an unmitigated flow of self-justifications filling nearly three pages of text—Turner is as thorough as Ellis in her search for meaning. Yet she recognizes a need to construct an ordered pattern from her experience: “I find I don’t care for you as much as I thought I did. *What has happened has only showed me that[W]hen I saw how easily I could let you go, it only proved to me that I did not care for you as I thought I did*” (VB, pp. 202-03, emphasis added). The world provides Turner with material to make sense of and thus affirm an ordered world.

Charles Geary operates on a more sophisticated level than does Turner, in conjunction with his broader aims. His ordering method involves continual conversion of daily experience into lists and schedules suiting his purposes. The experience to be ordered may be anyone’s or anything—Geary’s meals, Vandover’s schedule of college courses, the coincidental shattering of two glasses on the same day—though he is “particularly pleased” when the procedure lets him “get the better of anyone” (VB, p. 18). Not content merely to arrange his material, Geary attacks it with compulsive ferocity, manifest especially in repetitive speech. While the coterie at Turner’s expresses its bewilderment at the second shattered glass, “all sp[ea]king] at once, holding imaginary beer glasses ...in their outstretched hands,” “Geary refuse[s] to be carried away by their excitement,” and is carried away by

his own machinations instead: “one heard him from time to time repeating, between their ejaculations, ‘It was the heat from her fingers, you know, and the glass was cold’” (*VB*, p. 39).

Geary’s reasoned intensity literally pays off—in a law degree and advantageous clerkship in an esteemed firm; and by acceptance into the cotillion-set to which Turner, Van, and Dolly belong from birth. His method, moreover, is self-perpetuating. As his personal stock rises, so too does the worth of the material available to order, and so do the consequent rewards. Where once he completed Van’s study card, Geary (Esquire) swindles his friend out of valuable real estate. The small disasters he once rationalized away prepared him well for the lucrative damage suits of which “Geary made a specialty” (*VB*, p. 249). Parasitic, immoral, and ruthlessly organized, Geary succeeds at ordering his life to a degree far exceeding Turner and precisely where his male peers fail. Nowhere is this more evident than at Henrietta Vance’s cotillion—paradoxically a “coming out” party for Geary and Vandover, marking one’s entrance into Society and the other’s expulsion from it. Considered allegorically—and Norris, an inveterate medievalist,¹³ might well have conceived it thus—the dance is a masquerade ball for Chaos costumed beneath an orderly veneer. As Van receives the cold shoulder and Ellis hides in the coat room; as Turner chooses Dolly in a match fated for frustration; as men compete “like brokers in a stock exchange” to fill their dance cards, and women waltz with “a morbid hysterical pleasure the more exquisite because mixed with pain” (*VB*, pp. 189, 191), Geary alone retains control:

Geary, however, walked about calmly, smiling contentedly, very good-humoured. From time to time he stopped such a one of the hurrying excited men as he knew and showed him his card made out weeks before, saying, “Ah, how’s that? *I* am all fixed; made all my engagements at the last one of these affairs, even up to six extras. That’s the way you want to rustle.” (*VB*, p. 189)

The night began with Geary’s “first advancement in life” (*VB*, p. 188), his promotion to replace an ailing colleague. The rainstorm signaling the end of the cotillon evokes a similar example of his knack for exploiting others’ misery. “‘Ah,’ said Geary, delighted, peeling the cover from his umbrella in the vestibule”—amidst “exclamations of dismay” and “brothers and sisters quarrelling with each other over the question of umbrellas”—“*I thought* it was going to rain before I left

and brought mine along with me. Ah, you bet I always look for rain!’ ” (VB, pp. 197-98) Due in part to these reasoned displays, one can bet on Geary’s future as a sunny one.

A simile implicit throughout the novel presents Geary relating to the world as an engineer to machinery. He makes the Wade suit “a machine with which to force Vandover into the sale of his property,” uses “the vast machinery of the great law firm [to] raise him to a great place in the world of men,” fits “operatives” into the apartments built on the land he swindles from Vandover (VB, pp. 252, 327). Yet as his relentless drive, his assessment of himself as “an instrument of the law” (VB, p. 251), even the name *Geary* all attest, Geary is himself an ordering mechanism, transforming experience into a blueprint of the meaning of life:

Vast, vague ideas passed slowly across the vision of his mind...of the infinite herd of humanity, driven on as if by some enormous, relentless engine, driven on toward some fearful distant bourne, driven on recklessly at headlong speed. All life was but a struggle to keep from under those myriad spinning wheels that dashed so close behind. Those were happiest who were farthest to the front. To lag behind was peril; to fall was to perish, to be beaten to the dust, to be inexorably crushed and blotted out beneath that myriad of spinning iron wheels. (VB, p. 329)

Significantly, Vandover attains a correlative insight, as “[t]he whole existence of the great slumbering city passe[s] upward there before him through the still night air”:

It was Life, the murmur of the great, mysterious force that spun the wheels of Nature and that sent it onward like some enormous engine, resistless, relentless; an engine that sped straight forward, driving before it the infinite herd of humanity, driving it on at breathless speed through all eternity, driving it no one knew whither, crushing out inexorably all those who lagged behind the herd and who fell from exhaustion, grinding them to dust beneath its myriad iron wheels, riding over them, still driving on the herd that yet remained, driving it recklessly, blindly on and on toward some far-distant goal, some vague unknown end, some mysterious fearful bourne forever hidden in thick darkness. (VB, pp. 230-31)

These parallel passages measure the extent to which Van and Geary create order in their lives, and the consequences of their varied commitment to such ordering. To their shared observations of an “enormous engine” “crushing” the tardy members of humanity’s “infinite herd,” Geary adds pragmatically that “the happiest” keep to the front and that “[t]o lag behind was peril.” Geary thus implies his intention to succeed; Vandover appears to merely “marvel at” affairs in that pathetic state of “wondering curiosity” he had earlier displayed. Moreover, Van’s observation concludes Chapter XIV, and as the next chapter takes up the account one week later, we are left retrospectively with an impression of Van suspended in bewilderment.¹⁴ Geary’s vision comes near the beginning of the final chapter (XVIII) wherein he will exploit Vandover most hideously (hiring him to clean the apartments built on land which rightfully belongs to Vandover). And disrupting Geary’s vision—without so much as a paragraph break to separate his reverie from what follows; directly following and so associated with the image of being “blotted out beneath that myriad of iron wheels”—is the reference to “Vandover standing in the doorway” (VB, p. 329). The later passage actually demonstrates the positions Van and Geary assume in the revelation that they share. Geary is mentioned at the beginning of the passage so as to signify the reverie is his. He is thus literally “farthest to the front” in the description of “the enormous, relentless engine” goading humanity’s “infinite herd.” Vandover, mentioned at the close of the paragraph, apparently “lag[s] behind,” “inexorably crushed and blotted out beneath” this “relentless,” “inexorably” repetitive account.

III.

That his visionary blueprint virtually copies Van’s insight coincides with Geary’s mode of exploiting others to facilitate his own ends. Yet, as he is unaware of Vandover’s reflection, this instance points not to Geary’s practice but rather to a narrative technique: a figurative “exploitation,” or simply, a co-optation undertaken by Norris to advance the double-plot detailing Geary’s rise and Vandover’s decline. That is to say, Geary’s methods of ordering through repetition and co-optation are themselves, as it were, co-opted by his creator. I have focused on Geary’s ordering technique precisely to suggest such similarities in procedure. If Geary is the ordering genius in the text, Norris is the ordering genius controlling it, employing the same

techniques of *repetition*, “*exploitation*,” and especially *listing* that his anti-hero applies.

Like Geary, the narrator in *Vandover* is obsessed with inventories. Beginning with the description of Van’s backyard in Chapter III, lists follow one another in rapid succession, thereby adding to the chaos they ought ostensibly to mitigate. The dysfunctionality of these lists, Mitchell observes, is their most salient characteristic. The typical list in *Vandover*, like the record of debris near the conclusion of the novel which the critic takes for his example,

points to nothing other than itself. The description culminates a series of scenes as sharply rendered and just as inconsequent, without illuminating the people involved or otherwise advancing the plot. Indeed, these scenes defy the usual logic of realist metonymy by introducing gratuitous detail that expresses how little appearances happen to reveal. As the physically irrelevant accumulates, the novel gradually calls into question the normal process by which the material sign is imbued with cultural significance. Circumstances that are carefully detailed convey nothing about the individuals involved, as if to emphasize that descriptions of things are as arbitrary as the things themselves. (*LP*, p. 387)

In one respect, lists in *Vandover* are not as self-reflexive as Mitchell claims. The first detailed description of Van’s surroundings, for example, foreshadows his decline. “[A]djoining” the “charming” homestead of his youth was “a huge vacant lot with cows in it ...full of dry weeds and heaps of ashes, while around it was an enormous fence painted with signs of cigars, patent bitters, and soap” (*VB*, p. 33). The sign in his yard, “‘Look Out for the Dog,’” does call attention to itself by not being a conventional “Beware” sign. Yet rather than “lead nowhere,” the sign plausibly analogizes Vandover to his dog—for Van will turn into a brute of the Mr. Corkle variety, more vulnerable than injurious. “Look Out,” moreover, is more readily apprehensible as a dictum for the reader of a book than “Beware” would be. Thus the referential possibilities of the listed objects trace, and alert one to, Vandover’s degeneration.

Yet the lists *are* self-reflexive in another sense. For instance, what the incongruities in this first list point to is the disorder of observable phenomena, hence the need for order to be conferred through an artificial mechanism *such as* a list. Within Vandover’s yard, the unsettling

amalgam of eucalyptus and magnolia with banana trees, and of these in turn with firs, and of humming-birds with English sparrows, figures the confusion even inherent in something pleasing (quasi-Edenic) and ostensibly well-ordered. But by bringing together this assortment *in a list*, Norris constructs his own pattern, indeed a kind of symmetry of oppositions—of yards, of trees, of birds, of trees to birds—where once chaos reigned.

Other lists operate similarly, illuminating the need for an artificial ordering even as they satisfy that need (while also conferring order on the narrative more conventionally through a series of revealing symbols). The inventories of Vandover's apartment mark another telling instance. What is striking about Van's first vision of his "charming bachelor's apartments, the walls covered with rough stone-blue paper forming an admirable background for small plaster casts of Assyrian *bas-reliefs* and photogravures of Velasquez portraits" (VB, p. 169), is that his dream home precisely replicates the quarters of his attorney, Mr. Field, whom Vandover has recently visited (VB, p. 162). Here then is an instance of either Van acknowledging "no [original] idea of composition," or of his pliancy with respect to the ordering process—or of both. In any case, he implicitly allows Field to order his living space as though this were an extension of Vandover's finances; as he had allowed Geary to arrange his affairs; as, on the textual level, his character enables Norris to order Van's experience—which the author does in Geary-like fashion, through a listing process suited to advance Norris's own purposes.

Following Vandover's vision is the actual account of his apartment (VB, pp. 177-79), revealing again his ordering difficulty and the essentially chaotic nature of his world. Fastened to a huge dark rug hung against Fieldesque blue wallpaper, are "a fencing trophy, a pair of antlers, a little water color sketch of a Norwegian fjord, and Vandover's banjo": a peculiar amalgam forced into some order as hangings on one wall—though becoming more ordered still in an artificial context, as names arranged on one list. Atop the "breast-high bookcases" also inspired by Field, are "a multitude of small ornaments," including "a little bronze clock" and "a calendar": ordering devices the inadequacy of which is shown in other scenes, here mentioned among objects of *display* so as to imply their uselessness.

The list of Van's remaining possessions, overflowing three paragraphs as the objects overflow his rooms, juxtaposes cultural *bric* to *brac* approaching the mundane: "Donatello's lovely *femme inconnue* [to] beer steins"; Flossie's slipper in which Van keeps cigarettes to the lamp Turner gave him for Christmas; prints of old masters to

“photographs of actresses in tights.” If as Mitchell and Joseph McElrath observe, Vandover is damned by an insipid bourgeois “logic [whereby] whatever is not acceptable by middle class standards is firmly proscribed as ‘brutal,’ ”¹⁵ his room appears an open challenge to the sensibility that condemns him. In fact, there is nothing programmatic about Van’s pad. He makes his arrangements solely with his comfort in mind.

Yet at the level on which we interpret Van’s experience as a *written account*; where the layout of his apartment becomes a *detailed inventory* of his possessions—this arrangement amounts to an ordered expression of *the novelist’s* aesthetic freedom, expressing his rejection of an aesthetic that foolishly polarizes “art” and anything remotely instinctual. Remarking photos of show girls set beside the *Mona Lisa*, consciously conjoins art and instinct, as does listing objects listed on Van’s bookshelf: the Donatello reproduction flanked by a Turkish slipper on one side, and animal tintypes on the other. As “brutes” artistically portrayed, the animals of Fremilt and Barye in themselves figure this conjunction—so too does *Mona Lisa*, who Graham notes to have been “a profoundly dualistic symbol” in the nineteenth century, signifying both spirituality and sensuality.¹⁶

Norris’s lists thus function as they normally do in realist narratives, to “make any scene effective” in its “substantial details” (*NM*, pp. 45-46), and to “intimate a context of values unapparent in individual items” (*LP*, p. 386). Yet lists for Norris serve additionally as *controlling mechanisms*, as means for constructing a personal sense of order. And to find a model for this practice we have not to look outside the novel toward literary tradition or the author’s peers, but again within the work—toward Charles Geary.

For Norris’s inventories function as Geary’s do. In the manner alluded to by Mitchell, the author ostensibly keeps track of anything and everything as an end in itself—just as Geary records his activity for no ostensible purpose other than to “inform Vandover” “[i]n the morning ...of how many hours he had slept and of the dreams he had dreamed,” and “[i]n the evening ...[of] everything he had done that day; the things he had said, how many lectures he had cut, what brilliant reactions he had made, and even what food he had eaten” (*VB*, p. 18). Yet beneath this apparent motive of *lister pour l’amour de lister*, is the quest for control on the part of author and character alike. As Geary is “delighted to assume the management of things,” not only of his own but of others’ details, so Norris *via* his lists seeks to mitigate chaos within his narrative. As lists help satisfy Geary’s “inordinate ambition” to rise, so on the literary level they aid the novelist in his

double ambition to complete a narrative at once orderly (hence in need of the functional capacities of the list) and illustrative of life's duplicity (which the list exposes by juxtaposing apparent incongruities).

Norris and Geary also construct order through repetition, as we have already witnessed. According to Hart, repetition in *Vandover* anticipates the author's "epic style" of stock words and paired or trebled phrases, and in his initial novel this "portentous diction" fails miserably. "Such language plunges Norris into a mysterious but obsessive state of being, in which he strives to summon up 'the deep murmur, the great minor diapason that always disengages itself from vast bodies, from mountains, from oceans, from forests, from sleeping armies' " (NM, p. 45; quoting VB, p. 227). Pizer concurs that Norris's failure to perceive how "simplistic, loaded, and repetitious metaphors and symbols" detracted from his work "accounts for much that is weak in his fiction, from *Vandover* to *The Pit*" (NFN, pp. 49-50).

I shall comment soon on comparable effects of repetition in Norris's later work. Here I wish to point out that concomitant with this repetitive mode in *Vandover* is an ordering founded on repetition. That mode, to borrow from Hart, recalls the "obsessive," repetitive speech mannerisms of Geary, who by repetition apparently *wills* order upon his surroundings—reiterating nonsense sayings which in their "hidden logic" make sense of his situation (" 'cherries are ripe!' " " 'Ah, you bet' "); "incessantly talking about what he had done or was going to do" until what he was going to do *becomes* what he had done; continually invoking his own gloss on affairs, and so rationalizing—and later capitalizing on—disaster ("from time to time repeating ... 'It was the heat from her fingers, you know, and the glass was cold.' ") This fixated yet creative, willful repetition which orders is at the root of Norris's own rhetoric. That is, the author's repetitions operate as language-acts through which he "strives to summon up" on the printed page and within the context of his narrative, "that prolonged and sullen diapason ...of the great slumbering city" (VB, p. 230).

Hart's more serious critique of repetition in *Vandover* is that it results from outright carelessness. We might note in response that the most baldly repeated descriptions in *Vandover*—the identically worded depictions of "the careless sort" which expose "the incompleteness of the novel" (NM, pp. 45-46)—are of the most frighteningly chaotic episodes. Hence, for instance, the repeated references to Ellis's drunken seizures, in which "the skin around his eyes was purple and swollen, the pupils themselves were contracted," as "suddenly he swept glasses, plates, castor, knives, forks, and all from off the table with a single movement of his arm" (VB, pp. 58, 299), may not be careless at all but

rather a contrived means of controlling disordered experience. The repetitive accounts of Vandover's convulsions—depicted far more frighteningly than these barroom brawls—achieve a similar regulating effect.

And that specific repetition, listing in three instances Van's "inevitable reaction[s]"—the numbness in his head and the illusory swelling of his limbs, his "blind, unreasoning terror," the "slow crisping and torsion of his nerves, twisting upon each other like a vast swarm of tiny serpents ...spreading slowly to every part of his body" (*VB*, pp. 225-26, 230, 239-40, 242-43, 306)—evokes the sense of narrative control in another form as well, *via* stark yet orderly epiphanies, revelations that emerge from the terror.¹⁷ It is after Van's first seizure that he attains the vision Geary later shares, of "Nature" goaded by the "enormous engine" of "Life." When he is next stricken, all the objects in Van's room seem to "move back and stand upon the same plane....At first the room looked unfamiliar to him, then his own daily life no longer seemed recognizable, and, finally, all of a sudden, it was the whole world, all the existing order of things, that appeared to draw off like a refluxing tide, leaving him alone, abandoned, cast upon some fearful mysterious shore" (*VB*, pp. 239-40, 242). Order is thus conferred by the "draw[ing] off" of the disorder that is "all the existing order of things." Van's final seizure culminates in a similarly poetic vision:

It was warm; the atmosphere was dank, heavy, tepid. One or two stars were out, and a faint gray light showed him the vast reach of roofs below stretching away to meet the abrupt rise of Telegraph Hill. Not far off, the slender, graceful smokestack puffed steadily, throwing off continually the little flock of white jets that rose into the air very brave and gay, but in the end dwindled irresolutely, discouraged, disheartened, fading sadly away, vanishing under the night, like illusions disappearing to the first touch of the outside world. (*VB*, p. 307)

These epiphanies disclose another ordering strategy of Geary's co-opted by the novelist: the exploitation—or, transferred onto the literary plane, simply the utilization—of Van's (and others') misfortune to achieve the author's aims. A writer will of course often use a character to the latter's disadvantage, usually in order to solve a problem hindering the story's resolution. He may remove one coordinate from a

love triangle, for example, as Norris in fact removes Vandover, disrupting Van's attachment with Turner Ravis so that Turner becomes engaged to Dolly Haight. There is nothing unique about this aspect of Norris's method; but the extent to which he applies it is noteworthy. His additional removal of *Dolly* from the triangle, enabling Geary to wind up with Turner,¹⁸ reflects the degree to which characters in the novel—including Geary, eponymous cog in its machine—serve as means to authorial ends.

In a sense, then, Norris and Geary both benefit from Dolly's illness; and as Geary profits from largescale disaster, so Norris acquires something from the outbreak of syphilis among his characters, which, Mitchell observes, helps order the novel, "[c]irculating through the plot as it does through society" (*LP*, p. 403). Yet like Geary, Norris (figuratively) exploits Vandover most of all. That Van may be identified with Norris hardly mitigates the "abusive" relation of author to protagonist; in fact, it helps justify this relation. Since Vandover is also privy to these ordering epiphanies, his failure to use them virtually legitimates his victimization by Geary and Norris, who put this vision to use. In the characteristically repeated words of the author's other surrogate, the logic of exploitation is the survival of the fittest: "Every man for himself—that was what he said. It might be damned selfish, but that was human nature: the weakest to the wall, the strongest to the front. If he had to sacrifice Van, so much the worse" (*VB*, pp. 251, 328).

The novel concludes with Vandover brutalized and Geary triumphant—and with Norris, by applying Geary's methods, achieving compositional order in *Vandover and the Brute*. Norris probably does not identify secretly with Geary on any level other than a creative one. In the context of the author's determinism, however, this creative identification suffices to dictate Geary's success, insofar as the character is aligned with the compositional method of his creator. If Norris's "sympathies are all with the Vandovers" of this world (*NFN*, p. 42), it is still Geary whose success accords with the outcome of the work in which he and Vandover serve as Norris's *alter egos*.

IV.

Norris's quest for order extended beyond the problematic of his first novel. In his last work, *The Pit*, he plies similar strategies to different

ends—not as in *Vandover* to acknowledge order in variety, but to establish order in conformity.

The Pit, Howard Horwitz argues, fails to meet Norris's own aesthetic demand that the author reveal the "truth" of " 'elemental forces,' " rather than dally on the " 'merely accurate description' " of surface details. To be true to his word, Norris would have had to condone the speculative activities of the protagonist in *The Pit*, Curtis Jadwin, since the "elemental forces" presented in the novel are aligned with the "business and pecuniary... motives that stir whole nations.' "19 Norris would also have had to curtail the romantic subplot concerning Jadwin's troubled marriage to the beautiful Laura, since marriage is a metaphor for natural law, hence for a theory of "real" economic value that threatens a theory of speculative value. But instead, notes Horwitz, Norris affirms the marriage plot and naturalizes the forces of production—thereby villifying the forces of speculation. "The marriage and speculation plots are [thus] harmonized and become versions of each other" (*FVX*, p. 216).20

By embracing one set of values over another through the narrative strategy of harmonization, rather than sustain the differences between opposed values represented in these plots, Norris dispenses with the most radical ordering technique employed in *Vandover*: the unification of opposites by their joint inclusion in a narrative inventory. Thus, structurally no less than through the values it affirms, *The Pit* evinces what Warren French has called Norris's "growing conservatism and reconciliation with the genteel tradition."21 Yet *to harmonize* is still *to order*, and the other ordering methods utilized in *Vandover* are here used again. The repeated, repetitious reference to the "Black, grave, monolithic" Board of Trade Building, "crouching...without a sign of life under the night and the drifting veil of rain";22 and the equally obsessive, twice-repeated description of what Jadwin seeks to corner ("Almighty, blood-brother to the earthquake, coeval with the volcano and the whirlwind" [*P*, pp. 80, 373, 387]) serve to depict trade as a force of nature, and wheat as a real (instead of merely *speculative*) entity. Repetition, I am suggesting, is used to reconcile wheat and trade with a theory of real value. Moreover, these repeats, and the similarly reiterated symptoms of Jadwin's seizures (brought on by his addiction to speculation), also create a sense of narrative control by regulating, linguistically, the chaos they describe.23

Norris thus also "exploits" Jadwin for the ordering ends he attained by "exploiting" *Vandover*. And at the climax of this, his last novel, as at key moments in his first, the author makes use of his character's

misfortune to bring about an insight that character and author both may share. The novel builds to the point when Jadwin, “[b]lind and insensate,” yet seeking desperately to save the corner that enslaves him, enters the speculation pit. Chaos mounts; Jadwin is beset by vengeful rivals (“wolves yelping for his destruction” [*P*, p. 393]). Suddenly the hero’s sufferings culminate in an unexpected moment of calm, recalling the epiphanies produced by Vandover’s seizures:

...the tumult of the Pit was intermitting. There were sudden lapses in the shouting, and in these lapses he could hear from somewhere out upon the floor voices that were crying: “Order—order, order, gentlemen.”

But, again and again the clamour broke out. It would die down for an instant, in response to these appeals, only to burst out afresh as certain groups of traders started the pandemonium again, by the wild outcrying of their offers. At last, however, the older men in the Pit, regaining some measure of self-control, took up the word, going to and fro in the press, repeating “Order, order.”

And then, all at once, the Pit, the entire floor of the Board of Trade was struck dumb. All at once, the tension was relaxed, the furious struggling and stamping was stilled. (*P*, pp. 393-94)

The scene is synecdochic of Norris’s continued efforts to order his narratives of chaos. Though his idea of order itself underwent drastic change, this attempt to regulate in *The Pit* as in *Vandover*, marks a repeat (albeit with a difference). Perhaps, as he did within particular novels, Norris sought control over his *oeuvre* through repetition.

NOTES

¹I wish to thank Christopher P. Wilson and Mark Kazarosian for their invaluable assistance with this essay.

²Frank Norris, *Vandover and the Brute* (Lincoln, 1978), p. 12. Other page notations in the text from *Vandover and the Brute* (abbreviated VB) refer to this edition.

³For this and subsequent biographical information, I am indebted to James D. Hart’s “Introduction” to *Frank Norris, A Novelist in the Making: A Collection of Student Themes and the Novels ‘Blix’ and ‘Vandover and the Brute’*, ed. James D. Hart (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 6-7, 12-13. All other page notations in the text and notes from Hart’s study (abbreviated NM) refer to this edition.

⁴*NM*, pp. 24-25, 40. "It is...not improbable that in an early stage *McTeague* may...have been conceived in relation to *Vandover and the Brute*...both works were begun at the same time and intermittently added to and revised over the same period of years."

⁵Donald Pizer, *The Novels of Frank Norris* (Bloomington, 1966), p. 51. Other page notations in the text from Pizer's study (abbreviated *NFN*) refer to this edition.

⁶Lee Clark Mitchell, "'Little Pictures on the Lacquered Surface': The Determining Vocabularies of Norris's *Vandover and the Brute*," *PLL* (1986), 386-405. Other page notations in the text and notes to Mitchell's essay (abbreviated *LP*) in the text and notes, refer to this edition.

⁷Don Graham, *The Fiction of Frank Norris: The Aesthetic Context* (Columbia, 1978), p. 35. Other page notations in the text and notes from Graham's study (abbreviated *FFN*) refer to this edition.

⁸In adding that "Norris's identification with Vandover makes [Van] a pathetic figure," Pizer helps standardize the perspective I here attempt to challenge: namely, that the only character with whom Norris aligns himself is Vandover.

⁹Broken clocks in *Vandover* are emblematic of the chaos in which they are situated. Geary reports that "a little earthquake... 'stopped our hall clock at just a little after three'" (p. 36). The Wades' disordered clock, "perversely set in one corner of an immense red-plush palette" "[i]n the exact middle of the mantelpiece," is "one of the chief ornaments," the skewed centerpiece, as it were, of their disordered home. In its crazed condition, it is a paragon of frenzy: "The clock was never wound. It went so fast that it was useless as a timepiece" (p. 71).

Clocks often seem mentioned simply to show that they are ignored. Though Vandover "resolves[s] never to let [his late father's watch] run down so long as he should live" (p. 160), the "Old Gentleman's timepiece is never cited again, and one may assume that in the course of his travails Van has lost it, or that the watch was repossessed with his other belongings. A clock in Van's apartment is mentioned among his "multitude of small ornaments" (p. 177); thus implicitly, it is an object of display with no functional purpose. And since Van winds this clock while "pottering around" with no place to go (p. 181), he is shown to set his watch once time has lost all meaning for him.

The text itself approaches time haphazardly, as though the narrator had lost track of time. The first stage of Van's "career of dissipation" is said to have "lasted about a year" (p. 208); "for about a year" he occupies the first in a series of decrepid apartments (p. 271)—increasingly wretched domiciles register Van's fall far more effectively than does temporal reference. The houses are noted in sequence; allusions to time, on the other hand, are scattered, unexpected, actually *out of context* since the text creates no impression of time's passage in which to place these references. Thus the reader is startled to learn how much

time has passed. Where Van is discomfited on seeing Flossie "grown stouter since [he] had first known her, nearly ten years ago" (p. 282), the reader is surprised that a period of ten years may have passed within the narrative. (The exact amount of time characteristically uncertain, for we cannot locate Van's first "knowledge" of Flossie in relation, say, to the night he "knew" Ida Wade.) Reference to Van "drift[ing] about the city" "for two years" (p. 315) has a similarly jarring effect. Here again, the *amount* of time elapsed shocks more than what Van does during these years (endure "a real hand-to-mouth existence").

¹⁰Joseph McElrath notes the conflicting portrayal of Flossie in "Vandover and the Brute: Narrative Technique and the Socio-Critical Viewpoint," *SAF* 4 (1976), 27-43. (Subsequent reference to this essay [abbreviated *NT*] is to this printing.) McElrath nevertheless contends, viably, that "Flossie does not [really] 'radiate health' " (p. 37). Yet I would argue that in the duplicitous world of Norris's vision, the world that Flossie symbolizes, a syphilitic prostitute can radiate health even as she projects sickness. "Radiate" may indeed be used to denote a merely apparent condition, and this usage works in Flossie's case, for there "h[angs] about her an air of cleanliness," her musky odour "seem[s]" to emanate from her body, and she betrays[s]...her appearance" when she speaks. Yet it is the very essence of this chaotic environment that the real and merely apparent are so intertwined as to not only be indiscernible from but actually identifiable with each other. (See following paragraph in text, and Note 11.) In other words, Vandover depicts a reality which "knows not seems" though "seems" often exists.

¹¹Imitations at the Wade home are themselves imitated. The "Corinthian pillars on either side of the vestibule...were painted to imitate the wood pillars of the house, which in its turn was painted to imitate stone." "Near the piano straddled a huge easel of imitation brass [i.e. of fabricated fabricated gold] upholding the crayon picture of Ida's baby sister [in some sense, Ida imitated] enlarged from a photograph" (VB, pp. 70-71). When it is difficult to tell where imitation stops (perhaps this explains why Norris places the house "'drapes'" in quotation marks?), everything, paradoxically, may seem real. Veblen would have had "more fun than enough" at the Wades'.

¹²In his essay, McElrath argues that much of the novel is related through free indirect discourse, and that sentimentally expressed points-of-view reflect Vandover's opinions, not the narrator's (or Norris's). To McElrath, sentimental language signals a critique of the views presented in that language, since Van is portrayed sympathetically as a figure warped by Victorian convention. "[Norris] was consciously using melodramatic language derived from the lexicon of popular morality to depict the conventional mental and emotional responses of a traumatized victim of that morality...Norris's own implied response, unlike Van's, is one critical of the society that is permeated with this morality" (pp. 29-30).

¹³Hart reports that young Norris wrote a romance-cycle (replete with battle plans and sketches of armored knights), and

later a long story on a similar theme; and that his first published work was an article about armor written during his student days in Paris. See *NM*, pp. 6-7.

¹⁴Hart (*NM*, pp. 47, 50) contends that a missing chapter may once have preceded Chapter XV of the published text. If a 'XVa' did exist, its deletion (assuming Norris himself removed the chapter) might suggest Norris's aim to underscore the ineffectiveness of Van's ordering insight—the chapter's absence creating the impression of Van arrested and confused. If there never was a 'XVa,' Hart's very conjecture of something missing between Chapters XIV and XV points to the author's successful rendering of this arrest.

¹⁵*LP*, p. 395. McElrath offers a similar assessment (see *NT* pp. 33-34).

¹⁶*FFN*, p. 38. To Graham, "[t]his merger [of sacred and profane in the description of Van's apartment] is effected most clearly in the profuse allusions to women. Flossie, Turner Ravis, the girl in Rembrandt's *Night Watch*, Mona Lisa, the Vandyke lady, and the actresses are all subsumed under the rubric of *femme inconnue*: unknown woman. Woman expresses a duality: heaven and hell."

¹⁷The depictions of Van's seizures are not reiterated word-for-word but varied slightly each time. I would submit this repetition with a difference as further evidence of Norris's conscious, rather than "careless," use of repetition. The reiterated reference to Van's and Geary's insight is also varied slightly, and significantly, as we have seen. Even the repeated accounts of Ellis's drunken fits are not precisely the same. As Hart indirectly implies, *only* the description of Ellis's eyes and of the "sudden [...] single movement of his arm" with which he clears the table, are identical in both instances. The other portions of the accounts vary, including the reports of others' reactions to Ellis's fits.

¹⁸Vandover claims seeing Turner ride with Geary to a football game. The two are evidently a couple: "'Charlie was with Turner Ravis on the box seat'" (p. 293). Dolly Haight later tells Vandover that he and Turner had been engaged prior to Dolly's discovering his illness (p. 304).

¹⁹Howard Horwitz, "'To Find the Value of X': *The Pit* as a Renunciation of Romance," in *American Realism: New Essays*, ed. Eric J. Sundquist (Baltimore, 1982), pp. 218-219. (Subsequent reference to this essay [abbreviated *FVX*] is to this printing.) In this particular citation, Horwitz quotes Norris, *The Responsibilities of the Novelist* (New York, 1962), pp. 194, 204.

²⁰Pizer remarks that the love and speculation plots share "no common theme" (*NFN*, pp. 165, 174). Horwitz, "argu[ing] the obverse side of the same coin," notes that "*The Pit* goes out of its way" to harmonize the plots, and concludes that their unification is unsatisfactory: "A marriage that forgets the world that makes the marriage contract possible shares in speculation's

scandalous insouciance of objects in the world...If the Jadwins' hermetic love is offered as the best way to escape the difficulties of a credit economy that is but obliquely and shiftily related to the natural world, it is no escape at all" (FVX, pp. 215-16, 234). Horwitz's argument actually implies that "harmonization" imprecisely defines this plot relation. "Harmony" connotes balance, whereas the marriage plot subsumes the speculation plot within the narrative context; moreover, the speculation plot may be said to corrupt the marriage plot. In either case, the unification of the plots creates dissonance.

²¹Warren French, "Introduction" to *Vandover and the Brute* (Lincoln, 1978), p. x.

²²Frank Norris, *The Pit* (New York, 1903), pp. 41, 420. Other page notations in the text and notes from *The Pit* (abbreviated *P*) will refer to this edition.

²³Jadwin's symptoms are remarkably similar to Vandover's. Compare the references to the numbness in Jadwin's head and illusory swelling of his hands; to his "Strange, inexplicable qualms"; and to the "slow, tense crisping of every tiniest nerve in his body...A dry, pringling aura as of billions of minute electric shocks cre[eping] upward over his flesh" (pp. 321, 346-349) with the descriptions from Vandover cited above (VB, pp. 225-226, 239-240, 242-243, 306). this and other cross-textual reiterations support the possibility that Norris sought to confer order upon his *oeuvre*, as well as within specific novels, through repetition. My contention departs somewhat from Hart's explanation that "[o]bviously Frank Norris did not intend to employ the same material twice in two published novels, but perhaps in a period when he despaired of ever publishing *Vandover and the Brute* he simply pillaged passages for the newer *Blix* [and subsequently, for *McTeague*, *The Wave*, and *The Pit*]" (NM, pp. 22, 46). Norris's skepticism over publishing *Vandover* may certainly have contributed to his use of passages from the novel in these other works. Yet the ordering effect of these passages in the works wherein they appear suggests that Hart's opinion is not wholly explanatory.

**THE RETURN OF THE REPRESSED IN
M. R. JAMES'S *MARTIN'S CLOSE***

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In "Dialectic of Fear," Franco Moretti suggests that within the literature of terror, the repressed memory of the imaginary phase returns "disguised as a monster."¹ Therefore, terror literature, or Gothic literature, "*expresses the unconscious content and at the same time hides it*" (Moretti 103). Moretti further argues that to represent the monster as a female means little distortion of the unconscious content (104). Within the imaginary phase it is the mother who represents the values which the symbolic order forces the subject to repress. Thus "the return of the repressed" Moretti discusses is the return of the imaginary mother (98). Moretti discusses this theory in relation to *Dracula* and *Frankenstein*: I submit that this theory may be applied to most supernatural beings which haunt Gothic texts. "The return of the repressed" may thus be applied to ghosts as well as to the monsters which manifest themselves in *Dracula* and *Frankenstein*.

In this essay I will examine M. R. James's ghost story *Martin's Close* as an example of "the return of the repressed." Within this story imaginary experience is embodied in Ann Clark, a woman who returns from the dead after being murdered by her lover, George Martin. I propose that both Ann and her ghost represent imaginary experience repressed by both Martin and the seventeenth-century English society in which he lives. Although the story reveals imaginary experience in Ann, Ann's ghost, and Ann and Martin's relationship, it also conceals the threat posed by imaginary experience to the symbolic order because the imaginary mother is portrayed as a threat only to those who attempt to transgress symbolic law.

Several aspects of Ann Clark's character make it possible to read her as a representative of the imaginary order. Ann is described as retarded, "one to whom Providence had not given the full use of her intellects."² In Lacanian theory, the imaginary phase is an experience prior to language, an experience dominated by identification and duality. The imaginary is a time when the libidinal flow is directed towards everything, and the child is incapable of making distinctions between itself and its mother's body, or itself and any objects around it. The imaginary order offers an alternative to symbolic culture because it posits a radical androgyny and bisexuality. The imaginary infant has no concept of sexual difference, or any type of difference. Because the imaginary continues to coexist along with the symbolic when the

infant enters the symbolic, it continues to exist as an alternative to phallogocentric culture.

Although the imaginary continues to exist, it is repressed in the subject and, as Juliet Mitchell notes, "can only be secondarily acquired in a distorted form."³ Thus if we read Ann Clark as a representative of imaginary experience, her mental retardation may be read as a symbolic interpretation of the imaginary. To the symbolic order, which is structured by language and institutions, Ann may appear retarded. Because psychoanalytic theory describes the imaginary in the trope of a "prehistoric era" which exists prior to the culture of the oedipus complex, Ann Clark's inability to express herself in appropriate symbolic language links her with the imaginary order.

The inability of Ann to express herself in symbolic terms extends to the story itself. The story of Ann's murder and return as a ghost is something which seems to defy language. At the beginning of the story, the narrator asks what he should be told about Ann's story. His friend, the rector, replies: "I haven't the slightest idea" (72). Furthermore, the account of Martin's trial is not published until a century later, and even then only in longhand form. Therefore, the difficulty of expressing the story in language is emphasized and links Ann's story to the imaginary because imaginary experience is pre-language and can be only unsatisfactorily expressed in language.

Ann's appearance further links her with the repressed memory of imaginary experience. She is described as being "very uncomely in her appearance" (78). Furthermore, a boy called to testify at Martin's trial describes Ann in monstrous terms: "she would stand and jump up and down and clap her arms like a goose...she was of such a shape that it could not be no one else" (87). Ann's monstrous appearance, both before her death and after, connects her with Moretti's theory of "the return of the repressed." Because the imaginary order poses a threat to the symbolic, it must be portrayed as monstrous. It must, as Moretti argues, literally frighten the reader into accepting the dominant values of the society (107). Thus Ann's monstrous appearance combined with her supposed retardation provoke fear and disgust in the reader rather than attraction and identification.

Furthermore, the threat of Ann's ghost is presented as being a threat only to Martin, a subject who attempts to transgress symbolic law in his relationship with Ann. The story links Martin and Ann's relationship to imaginary experience in several ways. Martin and Ann communicate through music rather than spoken language. The prosecuting attorney at Martin's trial comments that Martin and Ann

had a signal for their meetings. He states that Martin "should whistle the tune that was played at the tavern: it is a tune, as I am informed, well known in that country, and has a burden, '*Madam, will you walk, will you talk with me?*' " (78). Thus even though the content of the song has symbolic signification, Martin and Ann rely on music to communicate. This coincides with Silverman's contention that music "images the fusion of mother and child" and thus recalls imaginary experience.⁴ Therefore, Martin and Ann's relationship may be said to invoke imaginary pleasure in that it eschews language, the cornerstone of the symbolic order.

Martin and Ann's relationship further suggests the imaginary because it undermines conventional hierarchical relationships. In the symbolic the subject is encouraged to identify with one position; in the imaginary the infant identifies with a variety of positions. Martin and Ann ignore class hierarchies in their relationship. Within the symbolic their relationship would be one of master/slave. Martin, a gentleman, would never meet Ann, a poor, retarded woman, on equal terms. The story, however, suggests that Ann and Martin's relationship is one of equals. Martin asks Ann to dance at a public party, and their meetings appear to be well known to everyone in the village. Therefore, their relationship undermines the master/slave hierarchy and posits equality between men and women and between people of different social classes.

Ultimately, however, Martin succumbs to the pressures of the symbolic order. He ends his relationship with Ann in order to enter into an arranged marriage with "a young gentlewoman of that country, one suitable every way to his own condition...such an arrangement was on foot that seemed to promise him a happy and a reputable living" (79). Martin thus decides to abandon his desire for imaginary pleasure (embodied in his relationship with Ann) for a position fully within the symbolic. He gives up his notion of woman as equal and opts for woman as commodity, the view of woman encouraged by the symbolic order. The arranged marriage posits a woman as "pure exchange value," what Luce Irigaray calls the virginal woman in phallogocentric society.⁵ In Martin and Ann's relationship, the phallogocentric economy does not intrude on their pleasure, but with Martin's decision to be a "respectable citizen," he begins to view women only as commodities.

Martin tries to murder his attraction to the imaginary through the murder of Ann. However, his repressed desire for imaginary experience comes back to haunt him. Ann's ghost does not threaten him physically, it only reminds him of his desire by singing the song which served as their signal. Ultimately, however, Ann's ghost does destroy

Martin because it is used as evidence in his murder trial. But although other people see and hear Ann's voice, its threat is directed only at Martin. Martin is thus condemned by the symbolic order for flirting with imaginary experience. His executed body is interned in "Martin's Close," a bit of land "with quickset on all sides, and without any gates or gap leading into it" (72). Martin is thus presented as an example of what flirting with imaginary desire will lead to, death and isolation from the community. The story to some extent supports this interpretation of Martin and Ann's story through its title: *Martin's Close* suggests the "moral" lesson to be learned from Ann and Martin's actions.

Martin's Close thus both reveals and cloaks imaginary experience. The imaginary returns, but in a monstrous form. Although, as Moretti suggests, the supernatural female is more threatening because it recalls more directly the imaginary mother, the subversive qualities associated with Ann are undermined because they threaten only Martin. The danger of Ann's ghost lies in the "evidence" it provides for symbolic law. Thus, to a certain extent, the radical alternative posited in the imaginary is co-opted by the symbolic. This co-option is evident in the judge's pronouncement to Martin that "I hope to God...that she [Ann's ghost] *will* be with you by day and by night till an end is made of you" (89). Ann returns embodying repressed imaginary experience, but ultimately she is transformed into a weapon in the arsenal of symbolic law.

NOTES

¹Franco Moretti, "Dialectic of Fear," *Signs Taken for Wonders: Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms*, trans. Susan Fischer, et al. (New York, 1988), p. 103.

²M. R. James, "Martin's Close," *More Ghost Stories of an Antiquary* (New York, 1988), p. 77.

³Julliet Mitchell, *Psychoanalysis and Feminism: Freud, Reich, Laing and Women* (New York, 1974), p. 404.

⁴Kaja Silverman, *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Indianapolis, 1988), p. 96.

⁵Luce Irigaray, *This Sex Which is Not One*, trans. Catherine Porter. (Ithaca, 1985), p. 186.

FRIENDSHIP AND IDOLATRY IN ESTHER EDWARDS' BURR'S LETTERS

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We know today that Puritan women authors often revealed other stories within the main story of emergent orthodoxy. One story they told concerns the discomfort some of them experienced in contemplating their feelings and identity. This discomfort often destabilized features of their writing. My essay tries to piece together a version of this "other story" by assembling clues from letters by Esther Edwards Burr. These letters present an underlying crisis in authority resulting from Burr's unacknowledged negotiation of a prohibited sentiment concerning potentially idolatrous earthly relationships.

I.

To uncover this story, I will focus on logonomic conflict. Logonomic systems regulate "ideological complexes," a "set of contradictory versions of the world, coercively imposed by one social group on another on behalf of its own distinctive interests or subversively offered by another social group in attempts at resistance in its own interests." Ideological complexes include friction between various authorizations that represent "the social order as simultaneously serving the interests of both dominant and subordinate" groups. Regulating this subterranean strife, "logonomic systems" provide a visible "set of rules prescribing the conditions for [the] production and reception of meanings." Logonomic systems express attempts by dominant groups to control, and to legitimate their control over, subordinated groups; but the ways whereby these systems contain opposition or exceptions to general rules inadvertently acknowledge the contradictions and conflicts at the core of all ideological complexes.¹

Logonomic conflict, my argument suggests, can be glimpsed in the unintentional, barely perceptible tensions that occur in uneasy attempts, like Burr's, to negotiate between orthodox and personal authority. Authority is the matrix of this logonomic conflict. As Foucault and new-historicist studies have indicated, humanity engages authority by way of an unresolved dialogism between resistance to and replication of the status quo.² The perception of authority is always "a process of interpretive power," so that "the sentiments of authority lie in the eye of the beholder," who experiences both "fear and regret" in

trying to penetrate the “secret the authority [figure] possesses.”³ Colonial American men, accordingly, were not exempt from this struggle despite the fact that they were more favorably aligned than were women with the power structure of their time—i.e., with the logonomic systems of set “rules prescribing the conditions for [the] production and reception of meanings.”

Similarities notwithstanding, it is reasonable to assume, on the basis of what we know of Puritan American culture, that female encounters with authority were *on the whole* qualitatively dissimilar to male encounters with authority. Excluded from male modes of identity formation, women had to manage an alternative form of negotiation with the dominant social text.⁴ During the seventeenth and the eighteenth-centuries, women struggled with the nature of authority more personally and internally than did most of their male peers. Biblically, theologically, ecclesiastically, socially, and familially, women were the second and weaker sex. To be second, it hardly needs to be observed, is to be less empowered in relation to the theocratic authority that has defined one as secondary.

According to the hegemonic and selective Puritan reading of Genesis, the mother of mankind was not only created from Adam’s rib on second thought (as it were), but through a weakness of mind she ruined paradise and engendered mortality. Reinforced by patristic, monarchic and social authority, the Puritan ministry enhanced this reading of Genesis by relying on the Pauline epistles as the chief guide to the second sex. Although without clarification Paul seems to insist upon gender-based hierarchies in Corinthians and appears to eradicate such differences in Galatians,⁵ Puritans like Mather were inclined to relegate the former to the quotidian and the latter to the afterlife. Seventeenth-century Christian dogma, in general, reflected an abiding dualism, even in the unitary belief in the Word made flesh,⁶ and this feature is evident in the Puritan belief that “the head of the woman is the man” (1 Cor. 11:3). As Cotton Mather wrote in 1726/1727, “as now it is,” women’s “Subjection to Men” is divinely sanctioned.⁷ In this context, women were relegated to second-class citizenry within both church and state; and in a move at once devaluative and co-optative, their identity was appropriated to depict the ideal saint’s spiritual abjection⁸ and their traditional roles were reassigned to male protagonists in Puritan works.⁹

Admittedly, there may have been another side to this pattern of subjugation. Possibly women generally ignored the male strategies of confiscation in this cultural representation of them and, instead, often

unquestioningly derived from it a sense of the significance of their place and role. Some women may have derived manipulative strategies from the Puritan feminine ideal;¹⁰ others may have appreciated its authorization of their specifically feminine influence, particularly in the domestic realm, as exemplary Christians.¹¹ That such empowerment may have figured in women's sense of themselves is possibly suggested by their renegotiation of the boundaries of male authority in England during the Commonwealth. Then a number of women argued on the basis of their traditional identification with virtue for a more active female involvement in society.¹²

Such a potential response should not be underestimated. Nevertheless, its appeal to women and its success in negotiating their feelings should not be overestimated. As we noted briefly, a substantial body of discourse suggests that authorized identities are never secure, either in definition or in reception, but always problematically relational for both males and females. In the specific instance of colonial American women, moreover, there is ample evidence of discomfort and instability in living within their culturally assigned place, from major disruptions such as Anne Hutchinson's dramatic dissent¹³ to small tremors of discontent, such as glimpsed in Cotton Mather's refutation of "the Female Sex [who] may think they have some Cause to complain of us [men], that we stint them so much in their Education, and abridge them of many points wherein they might be serviceable."¹⁴

My point, finally, is that whatever conscious accommodations women may have made to the status quo of their authorized identity, it was also utterly *natural* for them, given their situation, to experience at least unconscious swells of resistance. Whether intended or unintended, such resistance registers the unstable coalescence of both an anxious desire for authorization based on the inner province of personal feelings and a fretful belief in authorization based on the outer province of theocratic definition. It is an unsettled and unsettling contest between subjectified, secularly unauthorized connotative readings of experience and objectified, divinely authorized denotative readings of that same experience. Indeed, Anne Hutchinson may have implied as much by suggesting that human comprehension of the divine word is necessarily limited and that the meanings of words are contextually determined, not absolute in the ways her male inquisitors were using them to impose order, control, and closure to their arguments.¹⁵

The language of this logonomic conflict was the male controlled discourse of church and state. That is to say, when women did express

their inner impulses, they did so in terms at once personal and public. This meant the use of biblical allusion, a predominant rhetorical currency of their time. Men determined the credit of this currency, a credit with a long patristic history, and women tried to work within this male interpretative framework. Until eighteenth-century Quakerism, colonial women simply had no authority whatsoever to venture into the male preserve of scriptural interpretation; and among the colonists generally, the Quakers were hardly deemed suitable figures of authority. Even at the start of the nineteenth-century, Hannah Adams (the author of the first American dictionary of world religions) was assailed by orthodox clergy not only for her liberal theology but also, and especially, for assuming the right to interpret scripture and to publish her views in the male genre of theological treatises.¹⁶ Colonial women, in short, utilized scriptural allusions as authorized by male tradition, and it is within their use of these allusions that we often can detect the underground impulses otherwise screened by the seemingly orthodox surface of their writings.

If the use of biblical allusions potentially occasioned anxiety in women because such scriptural citation was circumscribed by male authority, writing itself was possibly another source of uneasiness. Concern with female composition could be severe indeed. John Winthrop pointed to Anne Yale Hopkins, wife of the governor of Hartford, as “a godly young woman, and of special parts,” who suffered “the loss of her understanding and reason ...by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books.”¹⁷

Excessive reading, not reading per se, was potentially a problem. Writing, however, was distinctly understood as a male activity. Even as late as 1756, as evidenced by the fear and secrecy expressed in one of Esther Edwards Burr’s letters, female interest in writing as a cultural pursuit and as an expression of identity was still generally taboo:

The good woman inquired after you very kindly and desired me the next time I wrote to you to send her kindest regards to you—she said the next time I wrote—she does not know our method of corresponding—I would have told her, for I know her friendly heart would be pleased with it, but I was affraid she would tell her MAN of it, and he knows so much better about matters than she that he would certainly make some Ill-natured remarks or other, and so these Hes shall know nothing about our affairs untill they are grown as wise as you and I are.¹⁸

Burr's conspiratorial sarcasm is clear in this instance, as is her ongoing concern with at-large male disapproval, when three months later she again tells her correspondent: "She dont know that I am always writing and I dare not tell her for fear she will tell her MAN[,] and everybody hant such a Man as I have about those things" (200).

The teaching of reading to children was a common maternal responsibility in seventeenth-century England and New England, whereas the teaching of writing only to boys was a paternal duty.¹⁹ This fact, more than any other, explains why archival research has turned up so few documents penned by women.²⁰ Obviously, as the example of Anne Bradstreet (c. 1612-1672) demonstrates, even early in the seventeenth century some colonial women could write, and certainly by the middle of the next century many more could do so. How many remains very much in dispute. We do know that urban women substantially outnumbered their village peers in this skill throughout the colonial period and that women in general continued to be taught reading alone long after writing had become a primary part of male instruction.²¹ We know that in the 1770s the Boston subscription campaigns against the consumption of imports, women's lists carried several hundred signatures.²² However, we also know that the increased level of female signatures by 1795 (nearly 45%) evidently does not actually reflect an equal gain in the mastery of writing because signature percentiles always exceeds those for actual writing ability and that women, in particular, were able "to 'fake' a smooth signature when totally illiterate" (Lockridge, 126-127). The need to resist easy conclusions about writing skills on the basis of female signatures is suggested as well by the Newbury town records, which may or may not be typical of broader regional practice; in this town, the children assigned to the care of the selectman from 1743 to 1760 were all instructed in reading, whereas only the boys were expected to learn "to write a Ledgable hand & cypher as far as the Gouldin Rule" (Ulrich, 44).

Such details reinforce the impression, as given by Bradstreet's defensive concession that "Men can doe best, and Women know it well,"²³ that the ability to write was generally perceived in colonial America as a male property. As a result, women who ventured into writing doubtless experienced some uncertainty of authorization, an uncertainty exacerbated by male control over literary genres and scriptural allusions. Women authors, in short, found themselves in foreign territory, unsettled strangers in a strange land. They replicated the precarious undertaking of their colonies, marginalized and feminized

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by the homeland as they struggled for identity.²⁴ My reading of Burr's letters excavates a site of logonomic conflict that discloses something of Puritan women's underground narrative within the ideological complex of their time.

II.

"When Mr Burr is gone," Esther Edwards Burr confesses to her confidante Sarah Prince (1728-1771), the recipient of the letters in Burr's journal, "I am ready to imagine the sun does not give so much light as it did, when my best self was at home, and I am in the glooms two [too], half de[a]d, my Head gone. Behead a person and they will soon die" (81). Her imagery is identical to Anne Bradstreet's in "A Letter to Her Husband." However, at mid-eighteenth century Burr seems *in some respects* more conservative than Anne Bradstreet at mid-seventeenth century. This peculiarity may not be immediately evident because, with the exception of citing the basis of sermons she has heard, Burr alludes to Scripture infrequently in her correspondence. Her manner may disguise the fact that whereas Bradstreet is able (however problematically) to biblically contextualize her celebration of physical love,²⁵ Burr appears to be unable to do so. As an eighteenth-century Presbyterian, Burr cannot access the Renaissance appreciation of life that Bradstreet inherits and coalesces with her Reformed response to the world; nor, on the other hand, is Burr able to benefit from the Deistic celebration of human potentiality in the world that she has encountered in her reading. Burr sees her attachment to the quotidian, including her intense affection for her husband, as utterly without any approved authorization. In lieu of Bradstreet's Renaissance heritage, Burr inherits her reactionary father Jonathan Edwards's minimalist version of Puritanism, including an eschatological obliteration of all temporal images and shadows of the divine.²⁶

This legacy informs her self-castigation for spiritual "deadness" (61) expressed throughout her epistolary journal: "I wish I could be willing to be and do, and suffer, just what God pleased without any will of my own, but I am stubborn, willfull, disobedient....How unfit am I to ap[p]roach the Lords Table" (131). Even the Lord's Supper, approached in Presbyterian expectation rather than Congregationalist restraint, does not help her: "I hoped to have meet [met] My Lord and Savior at his Table. But to my grief find no great alteration"; "I was in great hoopes [hopes] of meeting Christ in some extreordinary manner at his Table, but alas God has dissappointed me!" (78, 131).

Acknowledging "how apt be we to set our hearts on the enjoymments of time and sense," Burr laments, "My heart, I see is on the World and not on God!" (68, 84).

Specifically, her heart is set on two people. One is Sarah Prince, the daughter of Boston minister Thomas Prince. The intensity of Esther's affection for Sarah can be gauged in a letter of 1755: "How over joyed I have just now been! I could not help weeping for joy to hear once more from my dear, very dear Fidelia [Sarah]....I broke it open with [as] much e[a]lgerness as ever a fond lover imbraced the dearest joy and d[e]light of his soul" (97). Assessed in the context of the journal as a whole, the intensity of emotion here is genuine, not a matter of convention. The analogy to the lover, with the unrecognized, significant displacement of what in Puritan terms ought to be the true joy and delight of a *soul*, illuminates for us a crucial feature of Burr's indictment of herself as "carnel, fleshly, Worldly minded, and Devilish" (127).

Indeed, it is likewise as a lover that her heart is set upon her husband, whose absences invariably make her feel benighted, beheaded, and dying. If the communion with the Son in the Lord's Supper is unable to reverse Esther's feeling of spiritual deadness, communion with her sunlike Aaron reinvigorates her life: "I received a very affectionate Letter from Mr Burr, which did me more good than ever a Cordial did when I was faint. I was before extreemly low-spirited, but at once I felt as lively as ever I did in my life" (55). Time and again, "so lonely" that "every minute seems an hour" (46, 101), she anticipates Aaron's return with a fervor that, in contrary Edwardsean moments, she knows ought to be decarnalized and directed toward Christ. No wonder, then, that she is "affraid" she might "provoke God," her soul's bridegroom, "by set[t]ing [her] heart two [too] much on this dear gentleman, to take him from" her: "and—Alas what would all the world be to me if he were out of it!" (106).

So intense are her feelings on this occasion that she does not focus on the appropriateness of such a loss of attachment to the world, the authorized response she elsewhere observes when contemplating the disheartening French defeat of General Edward Braddock near Fort Duquesne: "that it might teach us to depend whol[l]y on God, and not on an Arm of flesh!" (137). In contrast, during her husband's nearly fatal illness, she confesses:

I cant be resigned to the Will of God if it is to bereave me of all that is near and dear at one stroke! I can see it [as] infinitely just, but I [c]ant be willing that justice

should take place ...O pray for that I may have a right temper of mind towards the ever blessed God! (146-47)

Did she attain this ideal state of mind when Aaron Burr died on 24 September 1757, two years after this candid revelation? Her journal of intimate letters to Sarah ends three weeks before his demise, and the subsequent, certainly guarded correspondence to her parents is difficult to assess in this regard. In her letters home, usually addressed to her mother but always read by both parents, Esther reports on 7 October 1757, "I think I have been enabled to cast my care upon him [God], and have found great peace and calmness in my mind" (293).

Her hesitant "I think" may possibly raise a doubt in our mind, particularly when at the end of her letter Esther entreats her parents "to request earnestly of the Lord, that I may never despise his chastenings, nor faint under this his severe stroke; of which I am sensible there is great danger, if God should only deny me the supports that he has hitherto graciously granted" (294). Given what we know of Esther Burr's feelings, as expressed in her much less guarded letters to Sarah Prince, we might become especially sensitive to her fear of being in "great danger." Her parents, and probably Esther herself, may have read in this expression a dread of some kind of rebellion against God, such as despair and suicide. But, as we will see, these possible transgressions overlay a prior, unacknowledged offense.

A month later (2 November 1757) she reassures her father that she has accepted divine will. Now further stressed by the near death of one of her children, she thinks of "the glorious state [her] dear departed Husband must be in" and then her "soul [is] carried out in such longing desires after this glorious state" (296). Was it the state of glory that her fatigued spirit desired, or was it reunion with her husband, about whom she had once speculated, "What would all the world be to me if he were out of it"?

Burr's allusion to Job 13:15 in the same letter—"[God] enabled me to say that altho' thou slay me yet will I trust in thee" (295)—may seem to answer our question if we overlook what it displaces. Such contemporary commentaries as Matthew Henry's specify, apropos this passage from Job, that we must have faith in God *as a friend* even if He afflicts us as an enemy. This allusion, with its embedded subject of friendship, functions as a site of logonomic conflict in Esther's letter; it unsurely negotiates the authorized theological ideal of divine relationship represented in the official commentaries on Job and the unauthorized emotional value of human relationship represented in the intimate letters by Burr.

"Nothing is more refreshing to the soul (except communication with God himself) then [than] the company and society of a friend," Esther Burr tells Sarah Prince in 1756: "One that has the spirit off [of], and relish for, true friendship—this is becoming [to] the rational soul—this is God-like"; "Tis the Life of Life" (185). A year earlier she had spoken similarly:

To tell the truth when I speak of the world, and the things that are in the World, I dont mean friends, for friendship does not belong to the world. True friendship is first inkindled by a spark from Heaven, and heaven will never suffer it to go out, but it will burn to all Eternity. (92)

This deep sentiment concerning human relationships informs Esther's attachment to Sarah, whose missives she reads "with [as] much e[al]gerness as ever a fond lover imbraced the dearest joy and d[e]light of his soul" (97); and it informs her attachment to Aaron, whom she would not exchange "for any person, or thing, or all things on E[ar]th ...Not for a Million such Worlds as this that had no Mr Burr in it" (92).

Esther properly gave priority to "communication with God himself." She knew well her father's doctrinal insistence upon an ecstatic, atemporal, spiritual sense of the heart as the only possible sign of this divine communication. She had in fact experienced his attitude first hand, such as the time when she was close to death and he was less concerned with fostering her recovery than with exhorting her at this time "to lot upon no Happiness here" (286). Moreover, she was doubtless far more sensitive to her beloved mother's personal experience of this sense when Esther was a child. Much closer to her mother than to her father, Esther likely measured her own spiritual condition against the model of Sarah Pierpont Edwards, especially as presented in Jonathan's *Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New-England* (1742).

Her father had altered his wife's version of her religious experience, making it reflect an abstract inner purity of motive utterly indifferent to social context.²⁷ He reported a state of soul "wherein the whole world, with the dearest enjoyments in it, were renounced ...[and] seemed perfectly to vanish into nothing." Edwards particularly specified "resignation of the lives of dearest earthly friends ...having [instead] nothing but God"—"as it were seeing him, and sensibly immediately conversing with him" as one's sole/soul intimate.²⁸

Esther may consciously subordinate human friendship to “communication with God himself,” but it is precisely this doctrinally imposed superior friendship, the Edwardsean new sense of the heart, that is missing from the “soul” of her intimate correspondence with Sarah Prince and of her intimate remarks about Aaron Burr. These letters not only overtly attest to the spiritual “deadness” of a “heart [set] ...on the World and not on God,” but they also covertly overwhelm their obligatory concession to the primacy of divine friendship by the sheer power of their true emotional center, a reservoir of dramatically expressed feeling. This emotion indeed “tell[s] the truth”—that in effect, Esther’s earthly affection for Aaron and Sarah has been “more refreshing to [her] soul,” has been more the “Life of [her] Life,” than has “communication with God” who “dissappointe[s]” her desire for religious affections even in the Lord’s Supper. Human friendship, “inkindled by a spark from Heaven,” is divine for Esther. It “does not belong to the world” but it is indeed found *in* the world, and found there for Esther far more efficaciously than is divine friendship per se. Her record of this efficacy, the experiential heart of her affection for Sarah and Aaron, in effect values “God-like” human relationships over God, the image of the divine over divinity.

In other words, against her conscious aim and *at the level of feeling* Esther unconsciously prizes the image of God (Aaron and Sarah) more than God. The emotional center of Esther inner life—positioning strong physical affection for a divine “likeness,” for a graven image, over weak spiritual affection for God—veers toward a violation of the second commandment: “Thou shalt have no other gods before me” (Exodus 20:3). This “carnel, fleshly, Worldly minded, and Devilish” *idolization* of “the Life of Life” is the unacknowledged “great danger” intimated in Esther’s allusion to Job. Expressed in a “public” letter to her watchmanlike parents rather than in a “private” letter to Sarah Prince, this ventriloquised allusion represents two competing sites of authority: the official Edwardsean version of friendship based on abstract ideal and the outlawed Estherean version of friendship based on intense emotion. As a shrouded site of logonomic conflict, this allusion explicitly, officially declares faith in divine friendship as supreme and at the same time implicitly, secretly, and elegiacally recalls Esther’s transgressive valuation of human friendship as supreme.

This double sense likewise inheres in Burr’s proclamation that human friendship, “will burn to all Eternity.” The nuances in this instance include more than the suggestion of a reunion of loved ones in heaven (certainly one aspect of Esther’s “longing desires after this glorious state” after Aaron has died); they also suggest a concealed

fantasy in which the secular displaces or at least parallels the divine. Esther's desire for an eternal reunion with her friends seems to transcend her desire for the beatific vision—hardly a pattern of thought supported by the concept of eternal love held by her father.

Sarah Prince's eulogy on Esther, entered in her private notebook on 21 April 1758, provides a further glimpse into the nature of the conflict over authority lodged in her friend's attitude toward human relationships. Prince heads her document with an apt cautionary note: "GOD will have no Rival in the heart which he sanctifies for himself" (307). This threat of idolatry, as we noted, is the "great danger" lurking just below the surface of Esther's awareness; and it is the peril that Sarah keeps steadily.

So did Mehitulde Parkman, as indicated in a 1683 letter to her husband: "Ms Mechison tells me often she fears that I love you more than god," Mehitulde reports. Here she tells her husband something unsayable except in a virtual code and reveals to us just how much trouble some Puritan women had, consciously or unconsciously, in truly subordinating and conforming emotional human attachments to a system of belief that insisted on assessing such attachments only as dehumanizing images and shadows of the divine. Mehitulde, like Bradstreet and Burr, concludes her statement by seeking the safety of scriptural allusion (Matthew 10:37); she writes, "he that loves father or mother more than me is not worthee of me" (Ulrich, 109). This is a poignant move, if we sense the author's desperation over the witchery of desire and feeling that the authorized biblical allusion is meant to reprove and exorcise.

Mourning the death of Esther, "the Apple of [her] Eye," and remembering "the Lovely Pattern she set," Sarah laments, "She was mine! O the tenderness which tied our hearts!" (307). Now her "Earthly joy is gone!" Now, too, her "God hides his Face!" She "can't see Love in this dispensation!" (308). Nevertheless, she resolves "to live loose from the World ...and have done with Idols" (308).

The words "have done with Idols" indicate that in retrospect Sarah suspects that her relationship with Esther had truly verged on the idolatrous. The toppling of her life "Pattern," a female model of "Natural Powers ...superior to most Women" (307), has exposed the danger of a relationship that potentially rivals God in the human heart.

In contrast to Sarah, however, Esther seems not to have brought this concern to full consciousness. Because Esther had difficulty finding God in her heart, even when partaking of the Presbyterian celebration of the Lord's Supper, the image of God (Sarah and Aaron) filled this emotional emptiness. Unknown to Esther, intimate, lover-

like human companionship had become the surrogate religion of her heart. This unperceived idolatrous disposition is cloaked within Esther's dutiful allusion to Job in her guarded letter to her father. Had he known of it, Jonathan Edwards would have firmly reproved his daughter's secret sense of self-validation through her latently idolatrous coalescence of friendship and authorship, such as when she wrote, "To tell the truth I love my self two [too] well to be indifferent whether I write or no" (89).

NOTES

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³Richard. Sennett, *Authority* (New York, 1980), pp. 20, 154.

⁴Nancy K. Miller, "Changing the Subject: Authorship, Writing, and the Reader," *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*, ed. Teresa de Lauretis (Bloomington, 1986), p. 111.

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⁹Margaret Olofson Thickstun, *Fictions of the Feminine: Puritan Doctrine and the Representation of Women* (Ithaca, 1988), pp. 20-23.

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¹⁵Lad Tobin, "A Radically Different Voice: Gender and Language in the Trials of Anne Hutchinson," *EAL* 25 (1990), 253-70.

¹⁶Michael W. Vella, "Theology, Genre, and Gender: The Precarious Place of Hannah Adams in American Literary History," *EAL* 28 (1993), 21-41.

¹⁷James Kendall Hosmer, ed., *John Winthrop's Journal: "History of New England," 1630-1649* (New York, 1959), 2:225.

¹⁸Carol F. Karlsen and Laurie Crumpacker, eds., *The Journal of Esther Edwards Burr, 1754-1757* (New Haven, 1984), p. 183. Page references to subsequent quotations from this edition are cited parenthetically in my discussion. All of Burr's and the editors' italics have been deleted in order to avoid confusion with my emphases.

¹⁹E. Jennifer Monaghan, "Literacy Instruction and Gender in Colonial New England," *Reading in America: Literature and Social History*, ed. Cathy N. Davidson (Baltimore, 1989), pp. 53-80.

²⁰See, for example, Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750* (New York, 1982), p. 5.

²¹Kenneth A. Lockridge, *Literacy in Colonial New England* (New York, 1974), pp. 38-42.

²²T. H. Breen, "Narrative of Commercial Life: Consumption, Ideology, and Community on the Eve of the American Revolution," *WMQ* 50 (1993), p. 490.

²³Joseph R. McElrath, Jr. and Allan P. Robb, eds., *The Complete Works of Anne Bradstreet* (Boston, 1981), p. 7.

²⁴Patricia Caldwell, "Why Our First Poet Was a Woman: Bradstreet and the Birth of an American Poetic Voice," *Prospects* 13 (1988), 1-35.

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²⁷Julie Ellison, "The Sociology of 'Holy Indifference': Sarah Edwards' Narrative," *AL* 56 (1984), 479-95.

²⁸C. C. Goen, ed., *The Works of Jonathan Edwards, Volume 4: The Great Awakening* (New Haven, 1972), pp. 333, 340.

**FORM AND CONTENT IN THE ENGLISH HISTORY
PLAY: THE EVOLUTION OF A MATURE DRAMATIC
STYLE IN SHAKESPEARE'S YORK AND LANCASTER
CYCLES**

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No consensus ever has been reached in the attempt to define the number of Shakespeare's history plays, nor is there yet any general agreement among Shakespearean scholars regarding the constitutive elements of the history plays as a genre of Renaissance drama. Accordingly, though many critics have been convinced, intuitively, that plays such as *King Lear* and *Anthony and Cleopatra* are not genuine history plays, in the past there have appeared few persuasive arguments for excluding these and other plays from consideration as representative examples of the class of play known as the "history." Scholars lately have recognized, though, that it is essential to define the genre in detail before one can argue for the inclusion of any particular play within that genre. The history play, however, lacking any classical precedent, has proven elusive of definition.

When Samuel Taylor Coleridge asserted that "in order that a drama may be properly historical, it is necessary that it should be the history of the people to whom it is addressed," he provided a critical basis for the exclusion of Shakespeare's Roman plays from classification as histories, but he did not succeed in forming a definition comprehensive enough to exclude plays like *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, and *Cymbeline* until he wrote that "There is as much history in *Macbeth* as in *Richard (II)*, but [the distinction depends upon] the relation of the history of the plot. In the purely historical plays, the history informs the plot...in the rest, as *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Cymbeline*, *Lear* it subserves it" (221).¹

In an effort to be more precise, Lily B. Campbell has attempted to forge a distinction between the tragic and historic genres by appealing to her conviction that tragedy's attention is limited to individuals, whereas history's attention is concentrated upon the workings of the state. As she writes, "Tragedy is concerned with the doings of men which in philosophy are discussed under politics" (17).² Such a definition, however, for all its improvement upon the vagaries of Coleridge, yet does not help us better classify such a play as Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II*. Can we declare, for example, that the subject of *Edward II* is Edward II? If so, does this mean that *Edward II* is a tragedy and not a history play? Or, if the subject of *Edward II* is not

Edward II, does this mean that *Edward II* is not a tragedy? The matter truly is ambiguous. Consequently, given this and similar examples, Professor Campbell's distinction does not seem especially serviceable or of particular assistance to us. It is in an attempt to address such ambiguities as these that Irving Ribner has challenged such theses as Campbell's, contending that

although modern antics often have attempted to distinguish between the history play and tragedy as mutually exclusive dramatic genres it impossible to do so. History and tragedy, in fact, are closely allied to one another, and what is more, we find them so linked almost as far back as we can follow Western civilization. (26)³

Ribner does not suggest by his remarks that there is no distinction between tragedy and history, however, nor does he presume the relationship of tragedy to history to be inseparable. Though possessive of tragic dimension, *Richard III* clearly is not the same type of play as *Hamlet* or *Othello*, and it would seem unintelligent to attempt to affirm a generic alliance between plays as distinct as *3 Henry VI* and *Coriolanus*. Ribner's point, rather, is that Campbell's distinction between tragedy and history is extreme, artificial, and inadequate because it lacks universal applicability. Yet, if we accept Ribner's critique, affirm the inapplicability of any doctrine which proposes an easy division between history and tragedy, and still feel uncertain of what we mean when we speak of a "history" play (rightly lacking the confidence to say what a play is, merely by observing what it is not), a review of what English society believed about history and drama prior to and contemporary with the emergence of Shakespearean drama is necessary.

The Rise of the English History Play

In 1950, A. P. Rossiter outlined the development of the English history play, tracing the origin of the history play to the ancient tradition of English folk drama and the medieval miracle play. Ribner's observations concur. He notes that this folk drama "depicted historical event by means of action and dialogue," but he concludes that it was incapable of attaining "the didactic, philosophical and political scope [of] the mature historical drama" (31); Rossiter, however, interprets the English folk drama principally to be the dramatic reflection of a popular, fingering affinity for celebrations of the rites of nature and fertility in a culture—newly Chnstianized—wherein such pagan

entertainments were officially condemned and their participants censured (42).⁴

Ecclesiastical prosecution notwithstanding, the folk drama flourished during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in England, and though the folk dramas gradually assumed a more Christian and less pagan character, the Decretals of Gregory IX (promulgated in the thirteenth century) continued to repudiate the folk drama, while the Bishop of Lincoln, as late as 1244, actually endeavored to suppress it as a containment of doctrine and the authority of sacred tradition. The importance of the folk drama, Rossiter and Ribner would likely conclude, is perhaps therefore more to be acknowledged for what it engendered rather than for any significant, enduring, intrinsic merits that it may in itself possess.

The miracle play eventually supplanted the more primitive folk play in popularity, dramatizing and humanizing articles of Christian faith already well-known to the people through the Church's liturgical celebrations of the sacred events of salvation history. M. M. Reese confirms the character of this dramatic evolution, adding that though these miracle plays were, at first, rather simple and undistinguished dramas, later miracle plays assumed a more mature character as they accomplished the gradual transformation from exclusively religious to at least partially secular themes, succeeded in integrating elements of allegory into the narrative, and effectively acquired a measure of plot and episodic structure (67-68).⁵ This dramatic evolution hastened the demise of the miracle play as the narrative form of theatre in England; the miracle play was subsequently replaced by the morality play, which, in its most primitive form (especially in considerations of staging), the later English miracle plays sometimes resembled.

The morality play emerged "in response to the need for plays which, while retaining an essential moral purpose, required fewer actors and less organizations" (68). Dramatically, the morality play succeeded in utilizing a smaller cast than the miracle play (though some plays, such as *The Castle of Perseverance*, employed as many as thirty-five actors). Organization of the morality provided evidence of greater dramatic development than the miracle play, as well. Many of the plays, however, attempted to depict tremendous spans of time in the life of a character, and this effort to so expand the plays' considerations has earned them the distinctive classification of "whole-life" moralities (103). Such ambitious attempts in this regard, as the play, *Mary Magdalene*, revealed the fundamental weakness of the moralities' lack of dramatic integrity as a whole and pointed to their need of such classical

organizational devices as Senecan five-act structure. Typically, therefore, lacking such devices to achieve order, the morality was relatively brief and either confined one's attention to a specific period in the life of an individual or devoted attention to a specific issue, such as death, as does the morality, *Everyman*. Allegory, in any case, echoes Reese, characterizes all of the moralities, as it was the function of such allegorical characters as Temperance, Fortitude, Contrition, and Vice to impart moral truths to the spectators via the embodiment of imaginative abstractions (68-69).

The history play, itself, developed during the Tudor dynasty in response to the closer alliance between religion and politics which attended the rise of the independent nation-state, an absolute monarchy, and a vigorous proclamation throughout Europe of the doctrine of the divine right of kings. As religious and moral questions began to assume a more aggressively political character, it was natural that the morality play should dissolve or assume a form by which these new realities could be explored. As Rossiter writes, "The old allegory of man's duty toward God, within his Catholic and universal Church was narrowed toward the allegory of men's duties as subjects under a God-representing king" (115). The genre of the morality play, therefore, was adapted to address the questions of contemporary life, as these answers were believed to have been revealed in history. Hence, in discovering the purposes of history, as understood by Tudor England, one can more substantially interpret the purposes of the English history play, thereby allowing one to define it as a genre by which such histories as Shakespeare's two tetralogies of English history (the Yorkist cycle and the Lancaster cycle) can be evaluated.

Tudor History and the History Play Defined

Irving Ribner notes that the Tudor doctrine of history consisted of a fusion of Christian and humanist elements of medieval tradition which, together, provided the Tudors with a satisfying philosophy of history (19-24). S. C. Sen Gupta reinforces this observation with his contention that "Tudor historiography had its roots in medieval thought and could not get rid of its medieval heritage, but its outlook was essentially humanist and largely free from the domination of theology" (14).⁶ Indebted to, but departing somewhat from Ribner's lead, I would propose that, for the Tudors, the purposes of history might be summarized with reference to seven main points of view—two of which are derived from the medieval Christian tradition and five from the

emerging character of Renaissance humanism. Primary among those perspectives on history which are derived from the medieval Christian tradition are the convictions that history provides tangible evidence of God's sovereignty and realized will, disclosing God's benevolent intentions for man by its revelation of a world that is rationally ordered and governed. Those perspectives more typical of the humanist approach to historical inquiry include the conviction that history reveals the significance of contemporary events by reference to events of the past, teaches moral and political lessons to those observant and studious enough to learn, demonstrates that the preeminent form of government among men is that ordered within the nation-state, provides examples of political disaster as admonitions to unfaithful monarchs and rebellious subjects, and documents itself as the normative discipline to consult for the proper interpretation of political events (24). In short, given the prominence of these features of Christianity and Renaissance humanism in the collective self-understanding of the English nation of the late sixteenth century, one can confidently assert that Tudor England clearly perceived history to be providential, revelatory, didactic, exemplary, nationalistic, and self-authenticating.

As a result, assuring that we are speaking of Tudor England in all respects, we must say that any play which could be identified as one which offers the state as its subject and which dramatizes real or supposed events from the nation's past in order to accomplish, as its primary purpose, any combination (or all) of the above purposes of history is, in fact, a history play.

Working with this definition of the history play, we thereby may safely exclude (as the weaknesses of Campbell's or others' definitions will not permit their exclusion) such plays as *Macbeth*, *King Lear*, and *Cymbeline* from consideration as Shakespearean history plays, for though these plays are derived, at least in part, from actual or supposed events in British history, they do not attempt to fulfill the aforementioned functions of history as their primary purpose. And, as Reese reminds us,

The various elements that composed the popular tradition left him [Shakespeare] free to handle historical or legendary subjects in any way he pleased. Potentially political stories of ancient Britain provided him in *Cymbeline* with a tragicomic romance and in *King Lear* with the most inscrutable of his tragedies, but we are concerned here [in the York and Lancaster cycles] with the themes he took from more recent English history,

and for this he found an existing tradition whose variety and comprehensiveness exactly suited his purposes. (88)

Therefore, given this clarification of form, we may, with confidence, safely exclude such a play as *Richard II* from its occasional classification as a tragedy, for though such a play conforms in many respects with those features of tragic drama defined by Aristotle in his *Poetics*, such a play fundamentally presents us less with a man as its subject than with England herself as object of our principal anxiety ("this blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England / ...that was wont to conquer others / Hath made a shameful conquest of itself" (*Richard II* II.i.50,65-66) In such a play as *Richard II* (and, arguably, Marlowe's *Edward II*, mentioned earlier), we are presented with the trial of the English *nation* through the person of the English *king*; it is England herself which is the subject of these and all authentic history plays, though the *person* of the king—the incarnation of the nation's purpose—is the primary *vehicle* by which the fate of the nation is dramatized.

As we have noted, the history play succeeded the morality play as the normative (though not exclusive) genre of drama in Tudor England, largely because the morality play could no longer ably accommodate the newer philosophical, religious, and political situations which characterized the life of late sixteenth-century England. Another cause, however, of the morality's decline is attributable to the inadequacy of the morality play as a means for communicating and reinforcing the doctrines of the so-called "Tudor Myth."⁷ This myth which the Tudors cultivated was an essential component of the religious/political thought of the day, and a few remarks about it merit attention before considering the character of the two great tetralogies of English history by Shakespeare.

Integrally united to Henry Tudor's claim to the throne, which he won upon the occasion of his triumph over Richard III at Bosworth Field, was Henry's contention that the victory which raised him to the English throne was providential; he contended that he alone had been appointed by God to crush the tyranny of Richard and end the War of the Roses (*Richard III* V.v.19-21), and to confirm this sign, he appealed to the example of his marriage to Elizabeth of York, a union which reconciled the two warring houses and established a new dynasty (*Richard III* V.v.29-41). Accompanying this claim, however, was Henry's assertion of a right to the throne apart from any considerations

of Lancastrian ancestry or marriage of alliance. E. M. W. Tillyard states:

Not only did he [Henry Tudor] claim through his ancestor Owen Tudor...but he encouraged the old Welsh superstition that Arthur was not dead but would return again, with the suggestion that he and his heirs were Arthur reincarnate....Henry sought to extend the fiction by naming his eldest son Arthur; but the unfortunate death of this prince did not prevent other Tudors making the Arthurian claim. (29-30)

Henry VIII's commission of Polydore Vergil to write a history of England that would legitimize his claim to the throne and reinforce the myth of Henry's Arthurian descent resulted, ironically, as Lily B. Campbell reminds us, in a work which appeared during the reign of Henry VIII that challenged the historicity of Arthur and effectively negated the "Arthurian link" as a support for the Tudor claim (58-60). Reese observes that Shakespeare apparently regarded Henry's claim of Arthurian descent as unconvincing propaganda, especially because no reference to such a link ever appears in Shakespeare's histories (45); but Henry's assertion of providential intervention in raising him to the throne in order that he might reconcile the warring houses of Lancaster and York appears, to this reader at least, to have been more favorably received by Shakespeare and by chroniclers such as Edward Hall, a point with which Robert Ornstein, too, agrees (16-20).⁸

Shakespeare's First Tetralogy: History and Theme

F. P. Wilson has suggested that the genre of the history play might be regarded as a unique, Shakespearean creation (108).⁹ Though many critics such as Wilson have attempted to fortify this thesis by dismissing the pre-Shakespearean histories as mere "chronicles," a point with which such scholars as S. C. Sen Gupta and Tillyard find themselves in unfortunate agreement,¹⁰ this distinction must be regarded as artificial and, finally, insufficient, especially if we are guided by our definition of the history play earlier set forth. Such a definition should be sufficient to undermine this untenable distinction between "chronicle" and "history," and Wilson's observation, therefore, would seem to address an *aesthetic* distance between the Shakespearean histories and other histories by lesser artists rather than any real distinction of genre.

The early Shakespearean history play incorporated much of the dramatic character common to such earlier histories as Bale's *Kynge Johan* and Legge's *Richardus Tertius*, but Shakespeare also utilized dramatic elements common to the earlier miracle and morality traditions. Primary among those features of the genres which Shakespeare seized upon were the miracle play's providential assumptions and the morality play's use of allegory and pedagogical intent. Reese states: "The morality structure was ideal for the history play. It was already didactic, as history was required to be, and it dealt in allegory, which enabled the dramatist to preach his contemporary lessons under the cover of abstractions" (69).

Shakespeare, therefore, seems to have developed his dramatic style after a rather eclectic fashion, experimenting with the genres of the miracle, morality, and early history, employing some of their assumptions and techniques in his early plays to accomplish new artistic and dramatic results. J. Dover Wilson is incorrect, then, when he says of the *Henry IV* plays, for example, that "*Henry IV*... is in fact Shakespeare's greatest morality play" (14),¹¹ for though, indeed, all of Shakespeare's histories reflect, in part, the devices and style of those earlier plays which influenced him in his own work, Shakespeare's plays must not be regarded as simple elaborations upon the morality but faithful representatives of the history. By acquiring the didacticism of the morality and adapting its allegorical character to the subjects and events of English history, Shakespeare was able to fulfill not the purposes of the morality play, as J. Dover Wilson suggests, but the primary purposes of the English history play.

The plays of the First Tetralogy (*1 Henry VI*, *2 Henry VI*, *3 Henry VI*, and *Richard III*) were youthful productions of Shakespeare, and though some uncertainty remains regarding the dates and order of their composition, the scholarly consensus appears to indicate that they all were composed between 1589 and 1593. Though the plays reflect an unquestionably immature style when compared to the masterpieces of historical drama of the Second Tetralogy, they nonetheless represent a great advance over the more primitive historical dramas which preceded them.

The action of the *Henry VI* trilogy is episodic, following the structural pattern of the morality play. However, Shakespeare unites the classical tradition of Senecan tragedy to this episodic outline, endowing these plays with their characteristic five-act structure which, in turn, is framed by a chorus. The use of stichomythic dialogue (*3 Henry VI* III.ii.24-75), Senecan declamation (*2 Henry VI* V.ii.31-65), ritual drama

(3 *Henry VI* I.iv.66-108ff), and other classical dramatic conventions, accompanied by the incorporation of revenge themes into an atmosphere of horror—replete with spectral apparitions of the dead—reflect Shakespeare's movement beyond medieval conventions into a more mature dramatic form. As Irving Ribner has remarked, the gradual incorporation of such techniques into the Yorkist tetralogy indicate Shakespeare's growing mastery over the structure of his work (99-101). Shakespeare's sophisticated application of the *de casibus* theme (whereby one character's rise is contrasted with another character's fall) to both his Yorkist and Lancastrian plays provides more evidence of Shakespeare's influence by and reliance upon such earlier dramatic successes as *Cambises* to enhance his own efforts (101).

Nonetheless, recognition of any thematic unity in the First Tetralogy is problematic. In searching for this unity, scholars have offered several suggestions. Lily B. Campbell, for example, has proposed that Shakespeare, in both cycles, is merely repeating the propositions of Tudor doctrine derived from dynastic myth (68). She has argued, too, that "each of the Shakespeare histories serves a political purpose of elucidating a political problem of Elizabeth's day and...bring[s] to bear upon this problem the accepted political philosophy of the Tudors" (125). Tillyard has adopted a similar position which argues that Shakespeare's tetralogy is an *apologia* for the Tudor propaganda of the day which proposed that all of England's woes during the reign of the mawkishly pious Henry VI could be attributed to the usurpation of the English throne by Henry's grandfather, Henry Bolingbroke. Tillyard writes:

What were the sins which God sought to punish? There had been a number, but the pre-eminent one was the murder of Richard II, the shedding of the blood of God's deputy on earth. Henry IV had been punished by an uneasy reign but had not fully expiated the crime; Henry V, for his piety, had been allowed a brilliant reign. But the curse was there; and first England suffers through Henry V's early death and secondly she is tried by the witchcraft of Joan. (65)

Both theories are attractive speculations, but where, some have wondered, is the evidence for either of these positions? Certainly there is a paucity of supporting evidence in the text; references to Richard's deposition appear only three times in the entirety of the First Tetralogy: 1 *Henry VI* II.v.63-66, 2 *Henry VI* II.ii.18-27; *Richard III* III.iii.9-12—

hardly enough, it may seem, to assert a primacy of theme. And, it might be asked, if Henry V had been spared God's wrath in token of his great piety, why was not his son—arguably even more devout—spared the scourge of God? The assertion, too, that Shakespeare was only a mouthpiece of Tudor ideology seems equally cavalier to some. Robert Ornstein has intimated that were the theory of Shakespeare as a spokesman for the Crown derived from the assumption that Shakespeare was merely repeating the political themes he found in the records of Edward Hall, it would be specious enough, but if it is supposed, further, that Hall's accounts are little more than repositories of Tudor dogma, then the assumption must be especially suspect. As Ornstein attests,

[t]here is very good reason to doubt that Shakespeare wrote his tetralogies to set forth what Tillyard calls the Tudor myth of history. There is reason also to question whether the view of history which Tillyard sets forth was in fact the Tudor myth and can be attributed as such to Hall. Certainly Hall was familiar with the moralistic interpretation of the past and refers to it in his Chronicle, but he never acknowledges it as his own. (16)

If, then, neither Professor Campbell's nor Professor Tillyard's position establishes the fact of a legitimate, unifying theme in the First Tetralogy, what might the theme (if there is one) be? A closer examination of the text appears to suggest that little credence can be given to the theory that the sins of Henry VI's grandfather are visited upon the realm of the third generation. Rather, Shakespeare attributes responsibility for the nation's suffering to factious nobles and an indifferent king whose casual dismissal of England's possessions in France confirms the young monarch's astonishing ineptitude:

King. Welcome, Lord Somerset. What news from France?

Somerset. That all your interest in those territories is utterly bereft you. All is lost.

King. Cold news, Lord Somerset; but God's will be done! (2 *Henry VI III.* i.83-86)

The rivalry between Winchester and Gloucester, the discussion between York and Somerset, the conspiracy of Suffolk and Margaret, the

ambition of the Duchess of Gloucester, the treachery of Burgundy, and the rebellion of the commons under the anarchist, Jack Cade—all of these point not only to the advanced state but to the very *cause* of disease in the realm. Reese affirms this too, noting that “the whole of Henry VI is a long-drawn demonstration that internal dissension, caused by a factious nobility, is the greatest scourge that a nation can suffer” (67). To those like J P. Brockbank for whom the infrequent references to Richard’s deposition also cannot be credibly defended as the basis for discovering a workable, unifying theme in these plays, the general “frame of disorder” (55)¹² in the tetralogy provides the unifying feature of this tetralogy. Brockbank contends that

the plays of *Henry VI* are not, as it were, haunted by the ghost of *Richard II*, and the catastrophes of the civil wars are not laid to Bolingbroke’s charge; the catastrophic virtue of Henry and the catastrophic evil of Richard are not an inescapable inheritance from the distant past but are generated by the happenings we are made to witness. (64)

S. C. Sen Gupta has recognized that there, too, is no conventional hero in this tetralogy (64), an observation which has been echoed by Tillyard in his statement that “there is no regular hero either in this [*I Henry VI*] or in any of the other three plays...” (163) And, though their observations be true enough, we ought not be surprised at such a revelation, for no conventional hero *could* appear in an authentic history play if, as suggested earlier, the genre mandates that the hero of the play be the state, not a person. Accordingly, by reviewing the Yorkist plays, we discover, with Edward M. Wilson, that though these plays are peopled with a host of interesting characters—especially the megalomaniac, Richard of Gloucester—these characters are always “seen and approved in relation to a political background” (86).¹³ Richard’s presence *binds* but does not *create* the unity of the tetralogy. None of the characters finally can he said to usurp the focus of the play which, of course, is the fate of a wounded England itself.

The Second Tetralogy: A Perfected Style

The plays *Richard II*, *1 Henry IV*, *2 Henry IV*, and *Henry V* represent the individual units of Shakespeare’s Second Tetralogy. Composed between 1595 and 1599, the Second Tetralogy focuses, paradoxically, upon the reigns of those kings which immediately

preceded Henry VI and the Yorkist monarchs, Edward and Richard. Also known as the Lancaster plays, due to their attention to the success of the House of Lancaster in usurping the throne of the reigning Plantagenet monarch (and thereby establishing itself as the royal house for over sixty uninterrupted years) the plays of the Second Tetralogy represent a widely-recognized refinement of style and perfected technique by their author.

With the production of *Richard III*, Shakespeare revealed that he, at last, had succeeded in transcending the limitations of the episodic style which had characterized his earlier work, but it took *Richard III* to reveal that he had matured as an artful dramatist and lyrical genius. Though Derek Traversi has mourned *Richard II*'s "conscious literary artifice" (12),¹⁴ other critics, such as John Wilders, have praised the highly formal style of the play as an appropriate...expression of Richard's self-consciousness [which], combined with the formal, ritualistic construction of many of the scenes...may help to convey the impression of the long-established, hierarchical society of medieval England, now in its final years of decline" (17).¹⁵ In this tetralogy, beginning with *Richard II*, Shakespeare documents that decline and also creates his first great tragic character who, it might be argued, becomes a royal metaphor for an England that is to tumble into chaos, only to be rescued after painful strife.¹⁶

The Lancaster plays, according to Ribner, "comprise a unified tetralogy devoted to the triumph of the House of Lancaster (151). The conclusion may appear to be deceptively obvious, but it is, nonetheless, an accurate statement defining the thematic unity which forges the plays of the Second Tetralogy into a unified whole. Whereas the movement of the First Tetralogy proceeds from bad, i.e., England's loss of the warrior-kirig, Henry V ("Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night!" [*I Henry VI* I.i.1]) to worse, i.e., England's torment under the tyranny of Richard III who made "poor England weep in streams of blood" (*Richard III* V.v.37), the Second Tetralogy opens with a disquieting look at a king who is dangerously weak ("The skipping King...carded his state / Mingled his royalty with cap'ring fools..." [*I Henry IV* III.ii.60-64]), but the tetralogy closes with a fanfare of tributes to the victorious "star of England" (*Henry V* Epi., 6) who conquered France and secured the peace of England. Therefore, if the theme which unifies the First Tetralogy is one of *rising* disorder, the theme which unifies the Second Tetralogy is the *resolution* of disorder—a disorder which, following the murder of Richard III, in the words of Derek Traversi, is "no longer confined to the clash of courtly

rivalries [but which], spread[ing] from these,...cover[s] the nation's life..." (3).

The Lancaster cycle may also provide a unique historical commentary with its suggestion that with the fall of Richard II, the quieter and more secure days of Plantagenet rule have come to an end. A new, more "modern" era has been introduced with the accession of the Lancasters wherein capacity—not just primogeniture—will be considered in evaluating a monarch's right to occupy the throne. Tillyard supports this view (252), and Reese, too, has written that "In some respects, the Middle Ages may be said to have ended with Richard, and although they would not have used those terms about it, the men of the sixteenth century were able to perceive that something had passed which they would never know again. A new order came in with the Lancastrians, a dynasty launched in blood" (227).

The Lancasters, first represented by the capable, though weary, Henry IV ("So shaken as we are, so wan with care..." [*Henry IV* I.i.1]), also serve to highlight one particular conviction of Shakespeare which seems supportable by textual evidence: obedience and loyalty are duties which a subject owes his king, regardless of that king's legitimacy (and about their legitimacy the Lancasters certainly had much with which to be concerned). If such a king as Henry IV appears to be an ironic choice for Shakespeare's illustration of this principal, one need only reflect upon the entirety of Shakespeare's depiction of Henry IV in the three plays where he appears: in those plays, it is obvious that Shakespeare's endorsement of loyalty to the *de facto* king does not preclude his critical commentary of him. In fact, as R. J. Dorius has said, judgments in the later histories are kinder to the wastrel Richard than to the politician Bolingbroke, whose usurpation and killing of a king are thought more heinous than all of Richard's folly. Though a trimmer, Bolingbroke cannot weed his own garden, for his foes are "enrooted with his friends...." (*Henry IV* IV.i.207) (125).¹⁷

It is in superseding the unhappy examples of Richard II and his father, Henry IV, that Prince Hal emerges to command the prominent station he possesses in this tetralogy. Richard and Henry had proven themselves to be failures as kings in their own ways: Richard, though legitimate, had been weak and foolhardy (John of Gaunt had said of him, "Landlord of England are thou now, not king" [*Richard II* II.i.113], and the gardener had echoed, "O, what a pity is it / That he had not so trimm'd and dress'd his land / As we this garden!" [*Richard II* III.iv.55-57]); Henry, though more able than his predecessor, had been

tainted forever, despite his penitence, by the crime of regicide ("Lords, I protest my soul is full of woe / That blood should sprinkle me to make me grow" [*Richard II* V.vi.45-46]). Hal, therefore, is given the opportunity to become England's greatest king by repudiating *both* these models of kingship. It is by studying his maturity as a soldier in *1 Henry IV* and as a statesman in *2 Henry IV* that we are prepared to celebrate his accession to the throne in Act Five of *2 Henry IV* and witnesses his entrance into the apotheosis of kingship in *Henry V*.

Hal nurtures himself as a student of the common man in *1 Henry IV* by sustaining his relationship with Falstaff and Falstaff's low companions, despite their acts of riot and dissolution. Through his association with such creatures of low quality, Hal is tested—and tests himself—by learning the paths of roguery and conspiracy which shall confront him in the magnified forms of villainy and treason when he becomes king. Hal is never fooled by Falstaff, though he frequently finds Falstaff's knavery and sack-inspired wit to be contagious. Aware at all times that Falstaff's nature is more contagion than contagious, however, Hal resists the fat knight's invitations to pleasure and indolence, for he sees anarchy—the greatest threat to a monarch and his kingdom's peace—couched in the seductive temptations to the ease, idleness, and frivolity which dull the eye of vigilance. That Falstaff is never meant to be a mere buffoon or clown—like Feste of *Twelfth Night*, for example—is evident when one sees that Falstaff is fashioned by Shakespeare as an agent of corruption, inspired in large measure by the figure of the medieval Vice. Falstaff is, as Ribner says, "the destructive element, the temper away from virtue...attractive as all vice is attractive" (171). Though Hal repeatedly attempts to reassure us that he has not been beguiled by Falstaff, especially in the scenes of reconciliation with his father, it perhaps requires his rebuke of fellow reveler, Poins, to convince us of his sincerity:

By this hand, thou thinkest me as far in the devils book as thou and Falstaff, for obduracy and persistency. Let the end try the man. But I tell thee, my heart bleeds inwardly that my father is so sick, and keeping such vile company as thou art hath in reason taken from me all ostentation of sorrow. (*2 Henry IV* II.ii.45-50)

J. H. Walker notes that the Aristotelian model of perfection required that a man give evidence of superior physical, intellectual, and spiritual attainment (158-159).¹⁸ At the Battle of Shrewsbury, Hal proves that he has reached the goal of physical perfection as he

overcomes the rebel leader of the insurrection, Harry Percy, to whom he so often had been unfavorably compared.¹⁹ Hal's triumph over Hotspur also confirms his soldierly ability and nobility of character—which stand in considerable relief against the cowardice and ignominy of Falstaff. Shakespeare illustrates Hal's attainment of intellectual perfection via the Prince's wise embrace of the rule of law, as personified in the Lord Chief Justice (2 *Henry IV* V.ii.102-145). Hal's spiritual regeneration completes his development; the Archbishop of Canterbury describes the event in words reminiscent of the Anglican baptismal liturgy:

The breath no sooner left his father's body,
But that his wildness, mortified in him,
Seemed to die too; yea, at that very moment,
Consideration like an angel came
And whipt th' offending Adam out of him,
Leaving his body as a paradise
T'envelop and contain celestial spirits.
Never was such a scholar made;
Never came reformation in a flood
With such a heady currance, scouring faults;
Nor never Hydra-headed willfulness
So soon did lose his seat (and all at once)
As in this king. (*Henry V* I.i.25-37)

According to Walter, these events, coupled with Hal's rejection of Falstaff (2 *Henry IV* V.v.47-70), reveal that Hal has attained the requisite character—at least by Aristotelian definition—to assume leadership of the state. He complements this observation, moreover, by arguing that Shakespeare's intent to depict Hal as the ideal English king can be confirmed by reviewing the traditional qualities inherent in ideal kings, as defined by Erasmus and Chelidonius (155ff.), authorities which Shakespeare unquestionably consulted in creating a mythic persona for Hal in *Henry V* and lifting the dramatization of ideas to an unprecedented summit within the genre.²⁰

An Organic Link Between the Two Tetralogies?

It would seem apparent that no organic link unites Shakespeare's York and Lancaster cycles. The plays reflect the gradual inclusion and deletion of many dramatic elements, new and old, which indicate that, to some considerable extent, Shakespeare was experimenting

stylistically while composing the plays. Accordingly, the presumption that it was Shakespeare's intent to produce a grand epic of England's glory and travail during the fifteenth century, commencing with *1 Henry VI*, does not seem persuasive if uniformity of style constitutes a criterion for judgment. Thematically, too, there seems to be little cause for urging upon the two cycles a unity which does not appear to exist. Ribner concurs with this analysis: "Shakespeare's eight historical plays cannot be conceived of as a single epic unit. They are two cycles, written at different times, in different ways, and reflecting two different periods of artistic and intellectual maturity" (156-157).

S. C. Sen Gupta seems to support this finding as well as when he declared that "though there is internal evidence that Shakespeare, when writing his second tetralogy, was mindful of his work in the first...it is also true that there is little similarity between the incidents represented in the two tetralogies" (113). However, he has also stated, in apparent contradiction, that "not only do these eight plays [from *1 Henry VIII* to *Henry VI*] form a single whole, but there is...continuous development from one play to another..." (55). Such confusion leads me to refer to Ornstein as perhaps the most able spokesman on the issue:

The tetralogies are too separate and too different from one another to be regarded as the complementary halves of a single oddly constructed panorama of English history. Each has a distinctive architectural unity that evolves, like the unity of a medieval cathedral, through the wedding of new form and conception old; and each embraces a multitude of unities because it is made up of plays that have their own artistic integrity and individuality of theme, style, and structure. (31)

The history plays are all unique works, and though it is possible that more attempts might yet be made to link the two great cycles in a seamless bond, it is, to my mind, unlikely that such efforts will produce convincing results.²¹ Even though many of the plays parade certain political assumptions before us, and though these assumptions may be identifiable as commonplaces of the Tudor philosophy of monarchy, there is, nonetheless, contained within these plays the suggestion that perhaps few ideas, however dear to the regime they may be, are necessarily always true; but then, such is the posture of Shakespeare in most of his work: inscrutable—in large part due not to his inability to *articulate* a consistent philosophy but in his refusal to

identify with any single point of view. For example, though no doctrine of the divine right of kings (by which, in large measure, Tudor absolutism was secured), and though Shakespeare, at times, appears to be a vigorous champion of this doctrine, at other times he seems to challenge its basis in fact. Ribner's commentary on this matter includes his recognition that

[though] *Richard II* in orthodox fashion loudly proclaims the doctrine of the divinity of kings...[Shakespeare] does so in a dramatic context which exposes this doctrine to the test of its contrary, and what emerges is not a strong affirmation, but a tone of questioning and skepticism. (163)

Inasmuch as preservation of the doctrine of the king's divinity supported the Crown's insistence upon passive obedience, and resistance to the Tudor philosophy of monarchy could, conceivably, be interpreted as treasonous and an invitation to domestic chaos and the resurgence of civil war. Accordingly, it is not surprising that Shakespeare's probing of the philosophical foundations of the monarchy is, at once, both careful and quick to give occasional example of the subject who does place obedience to the Crown above all other obligations—even the obligations of family and the correction of injustice. John of Gaunt, for example, is drawn (out of historical character, I might add) to represent the fidelity of a subject to his king, even though he knows that king to be a harbinger of ruin and the very definition of tyranny and capriciousness. Also illustrative of a subject's duty to his king, though that duty be challenged by the bond of blood between father and son, is Shakespeare's Duke of York before the newly crowned Henry IV, in whom we see no less an act of fealty than that of a father petitioning the king for his son's arrest on a charge of capital treason. Such examples of unshakable loyalty are contrasted, however, with Shakespeare's apparently equally favorable comment upon the efforts made to rid England of Richard III, and it is not with an unqualified disapproval that he seems to regard Henry's deposition of Richard II. Yet, in *Richard II*, in heroic defiance of Henry Bolingbroke by the Bishop of Carlisle? It is a cloudy picture, indeed, of England, the land of fogs, which we see in these plays—and one which resists attempts to dogmatize about the playwright's philosophical and political presumptions.

The questioning tone of the playwright in these plays, however, is not always readily apparent, and it seems that some postures assumed

expressing a particular point of view have been misinterpreted. (Some interpretations of Shakespeare's work, as we all know, engage every fallacy known to criticism and are, by every canon of judgment, confoundingly ridiculous.) In any case, even if we could achieve agreement among scholars which would affirm the politically inquisitive character of these plays, this still does not merit sufficient justification of the contention that it is this questioning tone which unites the tetralogies, for such could be claimed of all of Shakespeare's more thoughtful works—history tragedy, comedy, or romance.

In the absence of any more compelling arguments, I believe that we must adopt the position that though the two cycles reflect certain similarities of form, the plays are best appreciated when studied as successive productions of a maturing genius who had many things to say, not all of which were complementary. Such a resolution, I believe, is more convincing than any arguments which contend that Shakespeare, while drafting these works, was, with deliberation, constructing a panorama of English history which would establish a casual relationship between the deposition of Richard II and the fragmentation and near destruction of the realm in the century following this unfortunate and foolish king's fall.

NOTES

¹See Terence Hawkins' edition of Coleridge's *Writings on Shakespeare* (New York, 1959) for Coleridge's essay on *Richard II* (219-244).

²Professor Campbell's book, better known for its proposition that Shakespearean history is principally allegorical, is well worth consulting for views which, though propagated almost fifty years ago, still invite interest and investigation; see *Shakespeare's 'Histories': Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy* (San Marino, 1947).

³Irving Ribner, *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare* (New York, 1965).

⁴A. P. Rossiter, *English Drama from Early Times to the Elizabethans* (New York, 1950).

⁵M. M. Reese *The Cease of Majesty: A Study of Shakespeare's History Plays* (London, 1961).

⁶S. C. Sen Gupta, *Shakespeare's Historical Plays* (London, 1964).

⁷See E. M. W. Tillyard's well-known discussion of this national mythology in his celebrated *Shakespeare's History Plays* (London, 1944).

⁸Robert Ornstein, *A Kingdom for a Stage: The Achievement of Shakespeare's History Plays* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).

⁹F. P. Wilson, *Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1953).

¹⁰Both Tillyard and S. C. Sen Gupta propose the distinction between "chronicle" and "history" plays (98-126; 1-6), though this distinction cannot be maintained. For reasons already offered, it appears evident that John Bale's *Kynge Johan* and Thomas Legge's *Richardus Tertius* (among others) reflect the genre of the history play as fully, if not as artistically, as does Shakespeare's own *King John* and *Richard III*.

¹¹J. Dover Wilson, *The Fortunes of Falstaff* (Cambridge, 1944).

¹²See J. P. Brockbank, "The Frame of Disorder—Henry VI," in Eugene M. Waith's edition of *Shakespeare: The Histories: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), pp. 55-65..

¹³Edward M. Wilson, "Shakespeare and Christian Doctrine: Some Qualifications," *SS* 23 (1970), 79-89.

¹⁴Derek Traversi, *Shakespeare: From Richard II to Henry V* (Stanford, 1957).

¹⁵John Wilders, *The Lost Garden: A View of Shakespeare's English and Roman Plays* (Totowa, New Jersey, 1978).

¹⁶As Richard himself achieves recognition of personal responsibility for his fall "I wasted time, and now doth time waste me..." [*Richard II* V.v.49], so Henry V recognizes that he is responsible for this usurped crown whose theft he would expiate by completion of his father's penance. (See Henry's prayer at the close of the first scene of Act Four in *Henry V*, the most poignant lines of which are Henry's desperate petition to the Almighty, prior to the engagement at Agincourt: "Not to-day, O Lord / O, not to-day, think not upon the fault / My father made in compassing the crown!" [II.292-294]) .

¹⁷See R. J. Dorijs, "A Little More than a Little," in Eugene M. Waith's edition of *Shakespeare: The Histories: A Collection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), pp. 152-167.

¹⁸See J. H. Walter, "Introduction to Henry V," in Eugene M. Waith's edition of *Shakespeare: The Histories: A Selection of Critical Essays* (Englewood Cliffs, 1965), pp. 152-167.

¹⁹King Henry, convinced of Hotspur's noble character and his son's lack of same, chides Hal as a poor example of a prince, particularly one who is an heir presumptive:

Yea, there thou mak'st me sad, and mak'st me sin
In envy that my Lord Northumberland

Should be the father of so blest a son
A son who is the theme of honour's tongue,
Amongst a grove the very straightest plant,
Who is sweet Fortune's minion and her pride,
Whilst I, by looking on the praise of him,
See not and dishonour stain the brow
Of my young Harry. (*1 Henry IV* I.i.78-86)

²⁰For an expanded discussion of this, see my dissertation, *Shakespeare as Anglican Apologist: Sacramental Rhetoric and Iconography in the Lancastrian Tetralogy* (Ann Arbor, 1990).

²¹The theme of England's woe as the consequence of Richard's deposition is perhaps the most popular argument offered in defense of the contention that there is inherent unity of the two cycles, but the argument lacks strong textual support. To some not inconsiderable extent, *all* of the monarch's reigns were substantially influenced by their predecessors, and there is little evidence that Shakespeare sought to portray, in all these plays, a blight on all the monarchs succeeding Richard II (ending with the accession of Richmond at the close of *Richard III*), forced upon them by Bolingbroke's seizure of the throne in 1399. How else, for example, can one explain the triumphant reign of Henry V during this time of scourging by the divine wrath other than to allow that this theme, for all its attractiveness, lacks confirmation by the text? It seems apparent, rather, that each king suffers the consequences of his own folly or enjoys the substance of wise rule according to the extent that each's weakness or strength allows. Reinforcing an Anglican precept that one is responsible for one's own person before God, Shakespeare rejects any notion of inherited guilt (which, of course, is not the same thing as original sin) and depicts man, instead, as singularly responsible for his own fate.

²²Consult my dissertation, *Shakespeare as Anglican Apologist: Sacramental Rhetoric and Iconography in the Lancastrian Tetralogy* (Ann Arbor, 1990).

WENDELL BERRY'S METAPHYSICS OF *SABBATH*

Tom Pynn

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The dark around us, come,
Let us meet here together,
Members one of another,
Here in our holy room,

Here on our little floor,
Here in the daylight sky,
Rejoicing mind and eye,
Rejoining known and knower,

Light, leaf, foot, hand, and wing,
Such order as we know,
One household, high and low,
And all the earth shall sing.

(Sabbaths, 58)

In a written interview conducted by James Hepworth and Gregory McNamee, Wendell Berry explains his reference to himself as a “forest Christian:”

I used the phrase “forest Christian” to suggest what has been, for me, a necessary shift in perspective on the *New Testament*: from that of the church to that of the whole Creation. I don’t want to sound too positive or knowing about this, because I hope to understand the problem better than I do, but I feel more and more strongly that when St. Paul said that “we are members one of another,” he was using a far more inclusive “we” than Christian institutions have generally thought. For me, this is the meaning of ecology. Whether we know it or not, whether we want to be or not, we *are* members of one another: humans (ourselves and our enemies), earthworms, whales, snakes, squirrels, trees, topsoil, flowers, weeds, germs, hills, rivers, swifts, and stones—all of “us.”¹

For Berry, to be near-spiritual is to be materialist. Berry, however, qualifies materialist as a spirituality of *caring for the material*: “If you were really a conscientious, thorough materialist,” Berry has stated, “you

would take care of material things. You would be very close to being spiritual."² Berry's idea of "true religion" also consists in this mode of *caring-for*. In his essay "The Gift of Good Land," an attempt by Berry to find "a Biblical argument for ecological and agricultural responsibility," the mode of *caring-for* as the concern of "true religion" is what in Buddhism is called "right livelihood." Berry's complaint with traditional Judeo-Christianity, "as usually presented by its organizations, is not *earthly* enough—that a valid spiritual life, in this world, must have a practice and a practicality—it must have a material result."³ Furthermore, the author has written that ecology as a religious consciousness is revealed "by the *practice* of a proper love and respect for them ('the fowls of the air and the lilies of the field') as the creatures of God."⁴ The poetry of Wendell Berry communicates a joining of transcendent and immanent in an intertwining the poet describes in images of song, dance, work, and rest. As John Lang has observed, Berry's poetry celebrates the presence of the sacred within nature.⁵ Lang's choice of the verb "celebrates" is on target, for it calls attention to the joy intrinsic to the experience of natural revelation. It is the ecstatic celebration of God's grace revealed in the natural setting which founds the poetry collected in Berry's most recent volume *Sabbaths*.

In *Sabbaths*, published by North Point Press in 1987, the celebrations take place on Sunday; a succession of sabbaths from 1979 to 1986. Berry sets the tone for the collection of poems quoting from the Hebrew Scriptures book of the prophet Isaiah: "The whole earth is at rest, and is quiet: they break forth into singing" ("Isaiah," 14:7). The context of this fragment is the Babylonian captivity and the vision of a cessation of a bleak existence: "When the LORD has given you rest from your pain and turmoil and the hard service with which you were made to serve, you will take up this taunt against the king of Babylon..." ("Isaiah," 14:3-4). Berry reads this passage in terms of the Judeo-Christian tradition of the sabbath, when through the week he has labored at honest work, comes Sunday when he resumes "the standing Sabbath/ Of the woods, where the finest blooms/ Of time return."⁶

Berry's connection to the Judeo-Christian tradition is explicit in many of his works, but most recently in his essay "God and Country," where he writes "...to those of us who are devoted both to the biblical tradition and to the defense of the earth..."⁷ The question of what is the Judeo-Christian tradition is much too involved a topic to explicate in this space, but suffice to note that I am using Judeo-Christian tradition and biblical tradition interchangeably to reflect what I think

Berry's position on the subject is. A manageable question might be what Berry's position is regarding both biblical tradition and American Transcendentalism. Again, this is a deep river to step into, but some brief comparative remarks may be made in so short a space. The primary difference between biblical tradition and Transcendentalism is that whereas Transcendentalism is a philosophical and literary movement, the Judeo-Christian tradition is a religious movement (the interest of some transcendentalists in Eastern religions notwithstanding). Berry, however, can be understood as drawing from both worlds, for both are of the (agri)cultural. The conjoining of transcendent and immanent is present in both worldviews and may be understood as incarnational as well as romantic/transcendental; emphasis placed on the *flesh* of the world as what is most *immediate* to human beings. It is not clear, however, whether Berry accepts a wholly transcendent God as the Judeo-Christian tradition does, and, hence, its dualistic metaphysics. As for Transcendentalism, Berry does not reject tradition, nor does he advocate Emersonian self-reliance and radical individualism to the point that Emerson and Thoreau do. Instead, Berry offers a vision of a shared *community* more in line with the Pauline conception of Koinonia, or "community" based on a spritual value system.

The idea of sabbath is etymologically traceable to the Hebrew *shabbat* which is translated as "to desist" or "to rest" from work or labor.⁸ Louis Jacobs, in his article for the *Encyclopedia of Religion*, cites two senses of *shabbat*: one, a repressive sense which understands the sabbath as an instance of the fear of God occasioned by a command-coercive deity issuing the imperative to keep holy the sabbath; and a second sense, an interactive sense, in which the sabbath is a joyous celebration of the love of God. Berry's understanding resonates with Jacobs' outline of the interactive sense of the celebratory nature of *shabbat*. Jacobs speculates that sabbath "may mean that by resting in the day on which creation was complete, man acknowledges God as Creator."⁹ Furthermore, Jacobs writes that "by refraining on the Sabbath from creative manipulation of the world, people demonstrate that they enjoy their talents as gifts from God, the creator. They are there not by right but by permission. People have a stewardship for which they will be called to account by God."¹⁰ Berry echoes this sense of sabbath and human existence in the awareness that "Bewildered in our timely dwelling place,/ Where we arrive by work, we stay by grace" (*S*, 67). In celebrating the sabbath we join in an intertwining sustained by grace of work and rest, creatures and creator.

Certainly the history of the idea/theology of sabbath within the Judeo-Greco-Christian tradition displays a polarization concerning the ontological mood in which the sabbath is observed: fear and joy. The consensus among the scholars I have researched indicates that the occasion of sabbath is meant for celebration. R. North, in his essay for the *New Catholic Encyclopedia* entitled "Sabbath," corroborates Jacobs' interpretation when he notes that "the Sabbath was indeed a sort of fast from certain activities; but it was insistently called joyous."¹¹ M. G. Glazebrook, in his article for the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, concurs with Jacobs and Norton while adding additional reasons for observing Sunday, one of which is that "the spiritual life of the individual requires a recurrent leisure time, in which he may read or meditate, may do acts of charity, and commune with his friends, with nature, or art."¹² In *Sabbaths* the poems collected reveal Berry's interactive sabbath activities in celebrating the glory of God's grace in the world. The beginning poem opens the volume in a contemplative/meditative mode:

I go among trees and sit still.
All my stirring becomes quiet
around me like circles on water (S, 5).

Poems V, VI, and VIII from the "1982" section manifest Berry's reverence for and love of his friends and family. These poems are dedicated to Mary, Den, and Tanya respectively. As the many other poems which Berry has dedicated to friends over the years reveal a deep-seated bond, so do these three poems emphasize the membership they share with one another. The setting for the membership is, for Berry, the natural setting with which we are inextricably bound up with: "We are members of one another." Finally, Berry fulfills Glazebrook's new reasons for observing Sunday, in communing with art, in the writing of the poems. Berry admits that it is "the work of the imagination" to understand our connection to the natural setting.

At this point we have begun to understand that, in his poetry, Berry treats the sabbath in an interactive mode, celebrating the grandeur of God's presence in the world in several ways: 1) meditation/contemplation; 2) communing with friends and family; 3) communing with nature; and 4) communing with art.¹³ The question to be attended to is "How does Berry's collection of poems, *Sabbaths*, constitute a metaphysics of sabbath?" Indeed, the metaphysical question is one which 2700 years of Western Philosophy and Religion have yet

to provide a response that is consistent, comprehensive, and coherent. One version of the metaphysical question is "What is the identity and nature of ultimate reality, that self-sufficient cause/reason why anything is?" As the study of ultimate reality, metaphysics seeks: 1) the answer to ultimate reality's nature and identity; 2) to demonstrate the dependence of everything else upon it; and 3) to reveal its general manifestations on different levels and in different kinds in existence. Working within the Judeo-Greco-Christian tradition, Berry *seems* to accept its dualistic metaphysics, but it is his highlighting of God's grace continuously incarnated in the natural setting which forms the foundation for the participation between the transcendent and the immanent spheres of reality. Berry's metaphysics *cannot* be interpreted as strictly dualistic in the sense that there exist two *separate and distinct realities*. The moment of incarnation, continuously present, rather than indicating a separation and distinction between God and Creation, reveals the interaction between God and Creation which human beings experience as a moment of wonder and joy. The mystical moment of ecstasy is articulated by Berry in the IVth poem of the "1979" section:

I leave work's daily rule
And come here to this restful place
Where music stirs the pool
And from high stations of the air
Fall notes of wordless grace,
Strewn remnants of the primal Sabbath's hymn. (S, 11)

Berry's metaphysics of sabbath describes, poetically, the way in which ultimate reality, God, participates with Creation, and the way in which human beings, as both a part of Creation and the stewards of Creation, participate in God. The constituent elements of Berry's metaphysics of sabbath are: 1) the dialectic of work and rest; 2) resurrection, song, and dance; and 3) the experience of joy or ecstasy. Sabbath is the occasion in which the work/rest of human beings is justified by the Creator God in the presence of the Sabbath Spirit. Sabbath, in another sense, is harmony of Creator and Creation. As John Lang points out, Berry "considers nature the primary sphere of God's activity."¹⁴ Furthermore, "Berry has consistently sought to convey his double vision of nature's physical presence and the divinity manifest in nature."¹⁵

The related question of how we come to know God is not strictly an epistemological concern for Berry; we know/experience God in the participation with God *in Creation*. For Berry there is a necessary

connection between a made thing and its maker This connection is mediated in the act of participation Berry refers to as stewardship or charity. The conceptual foundation of stewardship is ecology which Berry locates in biblical tradition. In his essay "God and Country" Berry writes that

the ecological teaching of the Bible is simply inescapable: God made the world because He wanted it made. He thinks the world is good, and He loves it. It is His world; He has never relinquished title to it. And He has never revoked the conditions, bearing on his gift to us by the use of it, that oblige us to take excellent care of it. If God loves the world, then how might any person of faith be excused for not loving it or justified in destroying it?¹⁶

When Berry refers to St. Paul's insight in his letter to the Corinthians that we "Are members one of another," he is not simply making a quaint statement on the interconnectedness of being; rather, Paul is pointing to the interdependency of beings in the body of Christ as a symbol of God's Love. As creatures, Berry points out, "all creatures live by God's spirit, portioned out to them, and breathe His breath."¹⁷ Care or charity or stewardship is the mode of human being acting in the task of stewardship to safeguard Creation. When we fulfill our task we are blessed by the Sabbath Spirit, are participating with God and, hence, *know* God.

The components of Berry's metaphysics of sabbath are presented in the subject matter of the poems collected in *Sabbaths*. The first element of Berry's metaphysic, the dialectic of work and rest, is the concern of at least eight of these poems. In the "1979" section, poems I, VII, and X all reveal aspects of the dialectic. In poem number I, the images of encounter between Berry and Creation is contingent upon the "I" (self)consciousness leaving the world of work, a world of dread/anxiety, and entering into the sabbath unhindered. Berry writes:

I go among trees and sit still
All my stirring becomes quiet
around me like circles on water.
My tasks lie in their places
where I left them, asleep like cattle (S, 5).

Once the "I" has moved out of the mode of work he is free to *encounter* Creation. The encounter is purified of fear, the residue of anxiety, and each, Creation and Berry, is ready to hear the song each sings. The song each sings, Creation and Berry, is the song of Being. It is a joyous singing of the interconnectedness of all life as a part of God's Creation. In the last stanza of the poem, Berry returns to the notion of the laying aside of labor in order to encounter Creation:

After days of labor,
mute in my consternations,
I hear my song at last,
and I sing it. As we sing
the day turns, the trees move (S, 5-6).

As this passage describes, it is the anxiety of work as a mode of being in the world combined with the bewilderment of existence which causes Berry to be "mute in my consternations." Yet, after he has labored well, he rests in the Sabbath Spirit and is able to regain consciousness of the sacred part he plays within the larger picture of Creation. This understanding of his vital and living connection to Creation as steward and servant of God is the song he sings. As the poet sings "the day turns, the trees move": all in all is well.

Poem "VIII" in the "1979" section reveals another dimension of the work/rest dialectic: our work contributes to Creation and is the springboard to the Divine. It is "Disharmony" which "recalls us to our work;" a disharmony "Of waste, the agony of haste and noise." The return to work from rest is not an easy return, but there is consolation in "Returning, less condemned in being blessed/ By vision of what human work can make:/ A harmony between wood-land and field." It is the vision of harmony that sustains us in our anxiety, as well as the awareness that

The world as it was given for love's sake,
The world by love and loving work revealed
As given to our children and our Maker.
In that healed harmony the world is used
But not destroyed, the Giver and the taker
Joined the taker blessed, in the unabused
Gift that nurtures and protects (S, 15-16).

As John Lang suggests, "nature both blesses and is blessed. It receives God's grace and in turn mediates that grace to mankind."¹⁸ The

blessing manifests when the harmony of wood and field acts as a mnemonic trigger of "the whole/ First Sabbath's song" which "no largess of time/ Or hope or sorrow wholly can recall" (S, 16). The harmony of earth as a whole is "Heaven-made," but Heaven's promise and our prayer intertwine in "A little song to keep us unafraid" (S, 16).

The "Xth" poem in the "1979" section describes the partnership, "the Giver and the taker/ Joined the taker blessed," of human beings and God which can be understood as a third component of the work/rest dialectic. Harvest will come, redemption will come, but in order for it to come, "The hand must ache, the face must sweat" (S, 19). Work is hard labor. The farmer tills the field, but the rest is "left to grace": "That we may reap/ Great work is done while we're asleep" (S, 19). Berry concludes this poem by referring to the fulfillment of work that the sabbath offers: "When we work well, a Sabbath mood/ Rests on our day, and finds it good" (S, 19). The allusion to the first book of "Genesis," of God finding what has been created *good*, is intentional on the part of the poet; Berry wants to demonstrate the dialectic of work/rest as somehow analogous to Divine Creation. As the previous lines suggest, however, participation in Creative Activity by human beings is limited; God is the only *fully Creating*. John Lang supports such a reading when he notes "that nature surpasses human making is one of the poet's central themes."¹⁹

The second part of Berry's metaphysics of sabbath is the interrelated notions of resurrection, song, and dance. For Berry, resurrection "Is in the way each maple leaf/ Commemorates its kind, by connection/ Outreaching understanding" (S, 7). Lang points out that in Berry's poetry "resurrection is a fundamental principle of nature, not simply a religious doctrine."²⁰ The "connection/ Outreaching understanding" manifests as Creation Music; the song Berry hears in Creation and locates in himself as a part of Creation, once the anxiety of labor has been left behind and the residue of work, fear or dread, has been expunged from his consciousness. The movement from work to rest is presented again in the second poem of the "1983" section as

The year relents, and free
Of work, I climb again
To where the old trees wait,
Time out of mind (S, 63).

When the quiet arrives, as "a cleft in time," "thought is song" in the "Sabbath economy" (S, 63). "All labor is a dance" (S, 63). Berry hears "the ancient theme/ In low world-shaping song/ Sung by the falling

stream" (S, 64). The stream is "a part of Sabbath also," Berry writes in the fourth poem from this section of the volume, in its falling it is musical, it is musically "making the hillslope by its fall, and still at rest in falling, song/ Rising" (S, 67). In sabbath, linear conceptions of space and time dissipate. Motion as an abstract correlative of space and time is confused as in the paradox of the stream "still at rest in falling." When sabbath alights in Creation, "all the earth shall sing" (S, 58).

The moment of Creation Music is an ecstatic moment, a moment of joyous celebration of Sabbath Light. This moment is the third and final component of Berry's metaphysics of sabbath. The cessation of work, the dissipation of anxiety and its intrinsic fear, and the way made clear to the eruption of the sacred in song and dance culminate in an ecstatic gesture of life-affirmation: *incarnation*. What is *affirmed* is the *good* of Creation participated in partnership by human beings and Divinity. The fullest presentation of the ecstatic moment is found in the final poem of the collection. Written in 1986, "Slowly, slowly they return" encapsulates many of Berry's thematic concerns: absence and return, the sanctity of the natural setting, the blessing nature bestows as a mediating phenomena between humans and God, and the glory of resurrection in the cyclic movement of the seasons. In this poem the trees are a synecdoche for Nature:

Slowly, slowly they return
To the small woodland let alone:
Great trees, outspreading and upright,
Apostles of the living light. (S, 95)

The identity of the trees as apostles, those who speak with *authority of God*, reinforces Berry's idea that nature is the primary sphere of God's activity. The trees *are* "the advent they await." Berry continues by writing that the trees confer "a blessing on this place" and that "their life's a benefaction made,/ And is a benediction said/ Over the living and the dead" (S, 95). In Fall, the splendor of resurrection and God's grandeur when

their brightened leaves released
Fly down the wind, and we are pleased
To walk on radiance, amazed.
O light come down to earth, be
praised! (S, 96)

NOTES

¹James Hepworth and Gregory McNamee, "The Art of Living Right: An Interview with Wendell Berry," *The Bloomsbury Review*, (June/July/August, 1983).

²"Wendell Berry," *Whole Earth Review*, (Winter, 1989), 14-15.

³Wendell Berry, "The Gift of Good Land," *The Gift of Good Land, Further Essays Cultural and Agricultural* (San Francisco, 1981), p. 267.

⁴Ibid.

⁵John Lang, "Close Mystery: Wendell Berry's Poetry of Incarnation," *Renascence* 35 (1983), 259.

⁶Wendell Berry, "II," *Sabbaths* (San Francisco, 1987), p. 7. Hereafter, all poetry cited from this volume will be abbreviated *S* with page number, in the text of the essay.

⁷Wendell Berry, "Wendell Berry, "God and Country," *What Are People For?* (San Francisco, 1990), p. 95.

⁸Louis Jacobs, "Shabbat," *The Encyclopedia of Religion* (New York, 1987), p. 189.

⁹Ibid, 190.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹R. North, "Sabbath," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, 1967), p. 779.

¹²M. G. Glazebrook, "Sunday," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York, 1928), p. 110.

¹³In *Standing By Words*, Berry makes it clear that one's acts of charity, or, inversely, one's acts of debasement, are not the subject matter of poetry; such acts, and the narcissistic dwelling within the memory of such acts, violates poetic decorum.

¹⁴Lang, pp. 262-263.

¹⁵Ibid, 263.

¹⁶Berry, "God and Country," p. 98.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Lang, p. 263.

¹⁹Ibid, 261.

²⁰Ibid, 261.

**PLATH'S *POEM FOR A BIRTHDAY*:
FORGING A NEW SELF**

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From 9 September to 19 November 1959, Sylvia Plath and Ted Hughes resided at the artists' colony of Yaddo in Saratoga Springs, New York. Pregnant with her first child, despite a gloomy prognosis of infertility the previous June, Plath was particularly sensitive to the autumnal beauty of the estate, where the decaying year contrasted with the new life within her. Her attitude toward her pregnancy was highly ambivalent, for her positive feelings clashed with fears about the child's wellbeing, about childbirth, and about her ability to combine motherhood with a writing career. Further, although her time was entirely free to write, she suffered bouts with her old nemesis, imaginative sterility, making such comments in her journal as "Paralysis again. How I waste my days. I feel a terrific blocking and chilling go through me like anesthesia" (J 326).¹ In an effort to coax her inspiration back to life, Hughes gave her set assignments on which to write and urged her to explore her past as another source of subject matter. Fortunately, during several periods of intense creativity, her inner conflicts, her memories, her condition of pregnancy, her immediate surroundings, and some of the set themes combined to produce a number of haunting poems, the most significant of which is the series entitled "Poem for a Birthday."

In a journal entry for 22 October Plath writes that she is beginning work on a new long poem in which she will experiment both with highly personal subject matter and with a freer, more jarring style:

"Ambitious seeds of a long poem made up of separate sections: Poem on [her] birthday. To be a dwelling on madhouse, nature: meanings of tools, greenhouses, florists shops, tunnels, vivid and disjointed. An adventure. Never over. Developing. Rebirth. Despair. Old women. Block it out" (J 324).

Carrying out the new commitment to reject her preoccupation with the father implied at the end of "The Colossus," the series focuses on the protagonist's own experiences and emotions as she battles to reconstruct herself rather than her father. The new style, as she notes, is "vivid and disjointed." An entry written the next day reveals her enthusiasm about what she has produced so far:

Yesterday: an exercise begun, in grimness, turning into a
fine, new thing: first of a series of madhouse poems.
October in the toolshed. Roethke's influence, yet mine.
(J 325)

On 1 November she indicates her uncertainty about the worth of the content and her discomfort with the freer form with which she is experimenting: "I wonder about the poems I am doing. They seem moving, interesting, but I wonder how deep they are. The absence of a tightly reasoned and rhythmized logic bothers me. Yet frees me" (J 326). However, she completed it by 3 November when she sent it out to the *Kenyon Review*,² noting in a journal entry for 4 November, "Miraculously I wrote seven poems in my Poem for a Birthday sequence" (J 327).

As Plath herself acknowledges, Roethke is her major influence. Indeed, in March 1961 her editor at Knopf, which was going to publish the American edition of *The Colossus*, urged her to omit the entire poem as too derivative of Roethke's "Lost Son" both in imagery and rhythmic structure.³ In addition, it resembles other Roethke poems. However, Plath notes that it bears her own original stamp too: "Roethke's influence, yet mine" (J 325; emphasis added). She echoes his terse, staccato style, his interest in the animal and vegetable world as reflected both in imagery and persona, his abandonment of logic, and his intimate subject matter. However, her vision is bleak and sinister rather than celebratory, her tone is depressed and weary rather than energetic and vibrant, and, while both write of mental instability, relationships with parents, and the search for identity, the details are distinctly her own. And she adds the specifically personal and female aspect of pregnancy.⁴ Although many critics assert that Roethke's influence allows her to make a new breakthrough which leads directly to the brilliance of the late poems, I would argue that his was simply one more voice, style, and content that she tried, learned from, and then abandoned.

Other important influences are those of Lowell and Sexton, Radin, and Hughes himself. Her use of "madhouse" experiences reflects the first two, with whom she had constant contact during the previous spring while auditing Lowell's course in creative writing at Boston University, while echoes of stories from Radin's *African Folktales and African Sculpture* can be heard in several poems: "Mantis and the All-Devourer" in "Dark House," "The Bird That Made Milk" and "The Sun and the Children" in "Maenad," "Untombine, the Tall Maiden" in

"Witch Burning," and "The City Where Men are Mended" in "The Stones."⁵ As in Roethke's poetry, animals play a large part in these ancient tales, which, according to Hughes, Plath had read "with great excitement. In [them], she found the underworld of her worst nightmares throwing up intensely beautiful adventures."⁶

Hughes made out for her lists of possible topics on which to improvise in the hopes of releasing her from the grip of imaginative paralysis. On the left-hand side of a sheet of paper located in the Plath Collection of the Smith College Library Rare Book Room is a long list of twenty-nine topics in Hughes's handwriting; this original or master list includes the set themes that directly inspired six of the poems—"Witch-burning," "The pathetic beast, whose tearful mumblings I feed three times a day," "Change of vision of a maenad, as she goes under the fury," "The stones of the city—their patient sufferance (requisitioned as they are)," "Person walking through enormous dark house," and "Flute notes from a reedy pond." Nineteen are marked in the left margin with large dots, dashes, or asterisks. At the top right-hand side of the sheet is a short list in Plath's handwriting containing the topics which she apparently selected from the master list to use in "Poem for a Birthday": "Maenad," "The Beast," "Flute notes from reedy pond," "Stones of city (The city where men are mended)," "Ants," "Witch burning," "Moults," and "Old Newspapers." She later dropped "Ants," "Moults," and "Old Newspapers" and added "Dark House (which appears on the master list) and "Who" (which does not). To the left of this list she wrote "Mother of Beetles" and "Dancers." Clearly, Hughes's attempt to spur her imaginative powers was successful, and his description of the work as a "deliberate exercise in experimental improvisation on set themes"⁷ is entirely accurate as regards its origins.

"Poem for a Birthday" is highly ambiguous and difficult. Kroll notes that its inadequate logic produces incoherence and a lack of continuity both within poems and from poem to poem, its "several systems of imagery" are fragmentary and undisciplined, and its first-person speaker does not function effectively as an organizing device because she assumes so many different personae.⁸ While I am in partial agreement with Kroll's assessment, I believe that the poem is both logical and unified (often brilliantly so) if the narrator is seen as a single person who attempts to reconstruct a new self from the old, adopting various *metaphorical* identities to convey her conditions and feelings at various stages of her evolution. The seven poems trace her movement from a state of total emotional/psychological deadness,

through painful confrontations with and rejection of problems centering on parents and husband, to the verge of a transformed self dedicated to life and emotional health. This process involves a complexity of intensely personal subject matter, including not only the search for identity but also mental breakdown, family relationships, and pregnancy, conveyed in part by an equally complex pattern of imagery, much of which reflects stages in that process: "turnipy chambers" in an underground nest, the larva of the caddis fly, a grain of rice about to burst open, for example. Also suggestive of the speaker's psychological states are the disjointed, fragmented style, which largely abandons set meter and rhyme, and the various settings, which are surreal, nonhuman, nightmarish, and/or mythological in place of the realistic scenes of Winthrop, Benidorm, Cambridge, and Yaddo appearing in the majority of the 1959 poems.

The title has at least three meanings. It refers to Plath's own October 27th birthday, which always had great significance for her; the work, composed over a two-week period which included her birthday, was in one sense a present to herself, proving that her imaginative powers were alive and well. It also refers to the birth of the baby that she was expecting in five months and indicates her ambivalent feelings about the mysterious forces of life within her, and it is perhaps a tribute or gift to him or her. Finally, it alludes to the birth of a new or transformed self.

The first poem "Who" presents "the self at rock-bottom,"⁹ emotionally dead and empty. Since the speaker feels that she has no identity, as indicated by the title, she cannot define herself in any human sense but only as a plant in a flowerpot, "a root, a stone, an owl pellet,/Without dreams of any sort," all of which convey her lack of self-esteem, her feelings of blankness and worthlessness. Because her "heart is a stopped geranium,"¹⁰ she belongs in the "fusty" potting shed with its smell of mildew, its rusty tools, and its moldering cabbageheads: "I am at home here among the dead heads." Although not directly apparent, Plath takes these images of decay from the autumnal setting of Yaddo, specifically a greenhouse which she describes in the October 22 journal entry: "That greenhouse is a mine of subjects. Watering cans, gourds and squashes and pumpkins. Beheaded cabbages inverted from the rafters, wormy purple outer leaves. Tools: rakes, hoes, brooms, shovels" (J 325). The speaker has no desire to live ("If only the wind would leave my lungs alone"), but wishes either to die ("Mother of otherness/ Eat me") or to exist in a mindless state, thus escaping the dreams and memories which torment

her.¹¹ Two of the latter are obliquely evoked. The first is of her father in a garden of enormous purple and red flowers ("There were such enormous flowers,/ Purple and red mouths, utterly lovely"),¹² while the other is of the shock treatments she received during the time of her breakdown ("Now they light me up like an electric bulb./ For weeks I can remember nothing at all"). Thus the sequence begins at the lowest point, but from this nadir rebirth will slowly and painfully come.

In "Dark House," an improvisation on the set theme "Person walking through enormous dark house" contained in Hughes's master list, the house serves as a triple symbol of the speaker's earlier breakdown, of her current state of depression and artistic paralysis, and of her pregnancy.¹³ Her personal responsibility for each is indicated in that "I made it myself." She describes herself metaphorically (not literally, as most critics suggest) as a mole-like creature who lives underground in a nest or den with "many cellars," "turnipy chambers," and "marrowy tunnels." This "dark house" is more sinister than comforting, more a labyrinth from which to escape than a shelter or refuge: "I must make more maps./ These marrowy tunnels!/ Moley-handed, I eat my way." At the end, however, she implies that escape is not possible, that she is trapped by her responsibility for some little creatures (apparently her offspring); thus she resigns herself to her fate, her role as mother: "It is warm and tolerable/ In the bowel of the root./ Here's a cuddly mother."

As a symbol of the speaker's (and Plath's) earlier breakdown, the house metaphor, like the bell jar in her novel, suggests entrapment in this psychological state, for which she was at least partly responsible; however, the loss of her father was a contributing factor, as indicated by the lines, "he lives in an old well,/ A stony hole. He's to blame," in which the well and hole refer to the grave. The details of the house also evoke the dark, clammy crawl-space beneath her house in Wellesley where Plath attempted suicide in 1953. That the speaker is "round as an owl" no doubt alludes to the weight gained by many mental patients as a result of their medications. As Esther notes in *The Bell Jar*, "I just grew fatter and fatter....I looked just as if I were going to have a baby" (BJ 157). The speaker rationalizes her failure to recover (to escape) from her breakdown by presenting it as a numbed, undemanding, and thus desirable condition, echoing Esther's description of her early period in the private mental hospital: "I woke warm and placid in my white cocoon....I was beginning to resign myself" (BJ 171).

As a symbol of the speaker's (and Plath's) current state of depression resulting from writer's block, the metaphor reflects an

atmosphere of gloom and melancholy (external as well as internal, since Yaddo appears particularly gloomy and foreboding on cloudy autumn days); her feeling of imprisonment (Plath felt trapped both in Yaddo itself, which she refers to as a monastery and a nunnery, (J 327-8), and in imaginative sterility, J 321); and her futile efforts to escape. The images of pregnancy suggest that she feels full of potential in terms of producing poetry ("Any day I may litter puppies/ Or mother a horse. My belly moves"), but ironically nothing happens. She partially blames a male figure called "All-mouth" who "licks up the bushes/And the pots of meat," who does have robust mental health and/or is artistically productive (a reference perhaps to Hughes). This aspect of the symbolism is brilliant in its similarity to the human brain ("cell by cell," "such eelish delvings," "marrowy tunnels"), the source both of mental functions and of the imagination.

Finally, as a symbol of pregnancy, the house reflects the complex formation of the foetus, the rounded belly of the pregnant woman, the anxiety over childbirth, the feeling of entrapment in an inescapable situation, and the resignation to being a "cuddly mother" once the baby is born ("Small nostrils are breathing"). Thus it effectively catches up the complex feelings of expectant mothers in general and of Plath in particular, especially her extreme apprehension about delivery and her concern that becoming a mother might end her career as a writer, that she might, as the last lines suggest, succumb to the all-encompassing and artistically numbing demands of tending a child. Here the person to be blamed is the man who made her pregnant and who perhaps will accept none of the responsibilities of child-care: "He lives in an old well,/ A stony hole," that is, in isolation from her and the baby.

"Dark House" is an amazingly complex poem whose interpretation depends a great deal on biographical information. While directly borrowing a good deal from Roethke,¹⁴ it is, as Plath says, very much her own. Indeed, the first two poems might well be called Plath's psychological version of the dark night of the soul.

"Maenad," equally dependent on biography, is somewhat less complex. Written on the set theme "Change of vision of a maenad, as she goes under the Fury" in Hughes's master list, the poem has as its speaker a frenzied woman, though her frenzy emanates not from her participation in the orgiastic cult of Dionysus but rather from her attempts to escape the harmful influences of childhood and of parental figures, to reject her current identity, and to find a new one. Thus this poem, while full of anguish, takes the first small, though positive step toward the birth of a new, stronger self.

The two opening stanzas describe the speaker's childhood as an idyllic time of wonder and security. But things changed: "When it thundered I hid under a flat stone./ The mother of mouths didn't love me./ The old man shrank to a doll." She realizes that she cannot return to that earlier happy world ("O I am too big to go backward"), but must accept the painful, insignificant one in which she now lives and forge an independent adult identity. She dismisses the domineering mother who would prevent her from attaining that goal: "Mother, keep out of my barnyard,/ I am becoming another." While she yearns to elude this difficult undertaking by sleep or death ("Feed me the berries of dark./ The lids won't shut"), she knows that she must confront her past, present, and future: "Time/ Unwinds from the great umbilicus of the sun/ Its endless glitter./ I must swallow it all." Thus she enters a bizarre nightmare world along with others on a similar quest, asking an unidentified Lady (perhaps the moon, whom Plath often associates with a substitute mother-figure), "Tell me my name."

While in "Dark House" the speaker rejects the mother's negative influence, in "The Beast," a topic which appears as "The pathetic beast, whose tearful mumblings I feed three times a day" on Hughes's list of assignments, she rejects, or at least recognizes, that of a male who seems to be a composite father/husband figure, although the poem can be read as referring to either one or the other. Many details echo earlier poems on the two.

In a disillusioned, bitter tone, the speaker describes her former positive view of this male: "He was bullman earlier,/ King of the dish, my lucky animal." Whether father or husband, she saw him as powerful, kingly, and virile. If "dish" is given its ancient meaning of female genitalia, the husband seems the more likely choice (Plath often comments in letters and journal entries on her great luck in finding such a superior mate as Hughes). The next lines, however, with their echoes of "The Colossus," seem to refer to the father with whom, in effect, the sun rose and set and in whose presence life was easy. But she was separated from him, or from her concept of him, a reference to the father's death or to some disillusionment with the husband. Another possible reading is that, when she was sent away from the father, she met a lowly, inadequate substitute, a monkey who courted and married her.

In the second stanza she expresses her desire to get rid of the husband and/or the memory of the father, degrading him bitterly by calling him humiliating names such as "Mumblepaws" and "Fido Littlesoul" (shifting from bull to dog metaphors), reducing him to excrement or garbage ("the bowel's familiar/ A dustbin's enough for

him”), and revealing his fall from a kingly, authoritative figure to a fawning lackey with low self-esteem: “Call him any name, he’ll come to it.” To demonstrate, she addresses him as “Mud-sump” (a cess-pool) and “happy sty-face” (a dirty or infected face.)

She ends the poem with a barrage of degrading natural, domestic, and nursery-rhyme images reflecting her horrified realization of the low level of their relationship: “I’ve married a cupboard of rubbish./ I bed in a fish puddle./ Down here the sky is always falling.” The first line with its echo of “The Colossus” (“My hours are married to shadow”) and the second with its echo of “Full Fathom Five” (“Your shelled bed I remember”) suggest through the marital/sexual imagery an intimate relationship with the father; however, the husband is evoked as well. In both cases she expresses disgust for the male as a low form of life and for her intimacy with him. The closing lines in which she describes herself as doing her housework in the bowel of time with ants and shellfish for companions present a chilling portrait of domestic entrapment and marital disillusionment:

I housekeep in Time’s gut-end
Among emmets and mollusks,
Duchess of Nothing,
Hairtusk’s bride.

Having confronted her problems with mother, father, and husband, the speaker in “Flute Notes from a Reedy Pond” (a topic appearing both on Hughes’s and Plath’s lists) addresses yet another problem, the indifference of the universe in which she lives, and then indicates that she has freed herself from all illusions of meaning and comfort in human relationships or in this uncaring world. This poem is different from the others in the sequence in that the speaker uses the plural rather than the singular, the tone is more serene, the imagery is unified (creatures associated with ponds), the lines are longer and the meter less jarring, and there is a rhyme scheme. Plath may well have written it at Yaddo prior to her decision to do the series, including it once the latter was underway.

As in the previous summer’s “Frog Autumn,” the narrative voice speaks collectively as creatures living in a pond “at the lily root,” depicting the coming of winter, a symbol for the harshness of nature even toward its own: “There is little shelter./ Hourly the eye of the sky enlarges its blank/ Dominion. The stars are no nearer.” They go into hibernation, a state safer than death because they will no longer be

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tantalized by the “wingy myths” of a savior who will come to redeem them:

The molts are tongueless that sang from above the water
Of golgotha at the tip of a reed,
And how a god flimsy as a baby's finger
Shall unhusk himself and steer into the air.

Through this metaphor of pond animals, the speaker suggests that she rejects all consoling myths as false—those of a loving mother and protective, powerful father, of a glorious, kingly husband, of a redeemer who would save humanity from suffering and bring comfort into a bleak, indifferent universe. Since, therefore, she must rely solely on herself for meaning, she turns in the last two poems to the task of forging a new self, independent and meaning-bearing.

In “Witch Burning,” a subject appearing on both lists, fire is the agent of a painful but worthwhile purgation, a significant element of the process of transformation of the self. The speaker's agitated, apprehensive tone reflects both her fear and her excitement over the coming ordeal, whose outcome is clearly desirable. In describing herself, she shifts frenetically from metaphor to metaphor: a witch, a creature in a parrot cage, a grain of rice, a winged insect. While they appear entirely disparate, they are similar in that each is on the point of bursting free of some form of imprisonment.

The speaker first identifies herself as a witch who is to be burned at the stake, combining Hughes' interest in witches (J 219) and Plath's fascination with Joan of Arc (J 227; see also LH 147): “In the marketplace they are piling the dry sticks.” To avoid the pain of being burned alive, she has concealed herself in a false self (“I inhabit/ The wax image of myself, a doll's body”), but she realizes that this has only created or exacerbated her sickness. The only way to restore her health is to destroy the old self and create a new one; therefore, during this October, she climbs willingly “to a bed of fire.”

In the obscure and difficult second stanza, she acknowledges that it is easier to “blame the dark,” to justify and excuse her condition as the result of external forces, than to take action. The “mouth of the door” recalls the “shadow of doorway” in “Who” and the “cellar's belly” the cellars in “Dark House.” The three following lines evoke other justifications: a sinister “black-sharded lady” (the mother) keeps her in a cage; she is afraid of the dead (the father); she is married to a “hairy spirit” (the husband). While the caged creature to which she compares herself is not identified, Plath may have in mind the death-in-life figure

of the Sibyl at Cumae to whom Eliot alludes in the epigraph to *The Waste Land*.

The speaker then shifts to a most unassuming domestic image, a grain of rice in a pot on a stove. As the burners heat up "ring after ring," the grain swells until it is at the point of bursting: "It hurts at first. The red tongues will teach the truth." From a psychological viewpoint, she seems to suggest that looking at herself honestly is extremely painful, but leads to a meaningful transformation.

Finally, she either begs or challenges the "Mother of beetles" (the "black-sharded lady" of stanza two) to set her free.¹⁵ Once released from her clutches, she will "fly through the candle's mouth like a singeless moth." Assuming an assertive stance quite different from the timid one of the previous stanza ("If I am a little one, I can do no harm"), she demands, "Give me back my shape" and insists with new confidence that she is prepared to analyze, understand, and thus free herself of her past: "I am ready to construe the days/ I coupled with dust in the shadow of a stone." The lines refer to her obsession with the father, echoing the stone imagery of "The Colossus," as well as the line "My hours are married to shadow," and/or to her marriage, with which she seems to be disillusioned. At the poem's end, she returns to the witch metaphor as the flames of purgation ascend to her ankles and her thighs and then engulf her entirely. It is highly significant that the darkness which has dominated the sequence gives way to bright light, symbolic of hope and renewal.

Perhaps because it is more accessible, "The Stones" is generally lauded as the best of the sequence by critics following Hughes's lead; however, it seems to me less intense, less complex, less challenging and exciting than several of the others. Making use of numerous concrete details from Plath's 1953 breakdown to trace the final stage of the speaker's psychological biography, it is the most directly autobiographical of the series. While that personal experience is its major source, another is Radin's folktale "The City Where Men are Mended," in which the daughter of a good mother is perfectly restored after her accidental death while the daughter of a bad mother is only partially reconstructed after her mother "pounds her to death in a mortar."¹⁶ This set theme appears in Hughes's list as "The stones of the city—their patient sufferance (requisitioned as they are)," but is altered in Plath's list to "Stones of city (The city where men are mended)" with its direct allusion to the tale. With the exception of the personal subject of mental collapse, this final poem reflects little of

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Roethke's influence, indicating that Plath was already moving out of his poetic shadow.

In describing herself, the speaker again chooses several disparate metaphors (a ruined stone statue, a foetus, a patient in a hospital, and a vase), but they seem less difficult because they are more conventional and because by now the reader is prepared for them. He/she is perhaps less prepared for the speaker's strangely passive tone rather than a strong, celebratory one more appropriate to this climactic moment of rebirth toward which the sequence has steadily progressed.

Lying on "a great anvil" to be painfully hammered into a new shape in the "city where men are mended," the speaker begins by recalling the past when she "fell out of the light" into a mental breakdown culminating in attempted suicide, for which she blames the "mother of pestles [who] diminished me." Echoing both Radin's bad mother and the "Mother of beetles" of the previous poem, this figure appears to be the speaker's mother, a negative force throughout the sequence. Merging Plath's own experience and the folktale, the speaker defines her condition of mental emptiness and paralysis in terms of a stone statue reduced to "a still pebble." Similarly, in *The Bell Jar* Esther associates pebbles with her suicide attempt beneath the house: "The silence drew off, baring the pebbles and shells and all the tatty wreckage of my life" (BJ 138). As Plath's unconscious moans led to her discovery beneath the house, so the "mouth-hole piped out" until the "people of the city" found the speaker.

As the shift to the present tense in line 15 indicates, the remainder of the poem focuses on the long three-part process of reparation and recovery in the present. First, after being in a coma, like a "foetus/[Sucking] the paps of darkness," the speaker returns to consciousness, adding the metaphor of the patient to those of foetus and statue; she is like a baby who, at the moment of birth, first sees, hears, and tastes as well as like a statue carved from stone by the chisel of the jeweler. In *The Bell Jar*, Esther relates her return to consciousness in similar terms, suggesting the closeness to Plath's own experience: "A chisel cracked down on my eye, and a slit of light opened" (BJ 139). However, as in "Lady Lazarus," the speaker is not joyous about her "resurrection," for the life to which she returns is dull and monotonous: "And daylight lays its sameness on the wall."

Second, she tells of the painful process of being repaired, of receiving skin grafts, electric shock treatments, a new heart; her wounds, described as cracks in a stone statue, are stitched back together:

The grafters are cheerful

Heating the pincers, hoisting the delicate hammers.
A current agitates the wires
Volt upon volt. Catgut stitches my fissures.

Third, covered in bandages, she waits passively as the slow healing process takes place: "My swaddled legs and arms smell sweet as rubber." The bandages which swaddle her reinvokes the baby metaphor, while the comparison to rubber suggests that she is patched and retreaded like a tire, as is Esther after her stay in the mental hospital (BJ 199). She describes love both as her nurse, a positive, healing force, and as her curse, a negative, destructive force partially responsible for her breakdown in the figures of mother, father, and husband. Turning to a new metaphor, she compares herself to a "vase, reconstructed, [which] houses/ The elusive rose," the latter a symbol for the soul, the will to live, and/or poetic creativity; however, its positive qualities are immediately undercut in that it may be only a "bowl for shadows." This elegant, romantic metaphor so foreign to the tenor of the sequence as a whole gives way to the dominant recovering patient image as she indicates that the healing process is nearing its end: "My mendings itch. There is nothing to do./ I shall be good as new."

The passive, weary, even depressed tone is surprising, as the reader expects the voice to convey happiness, anticipation, or at least relief that the long ordeal is almost over and the new self is about to become a reality; Aird notes its similarity to the ending of Lowell's "Home after Three Months Away": "Cured, I am frizzled, stale, and small."¹⁷ It is as if the speaker is resigned to something which she no longer desires, reluctantly accepting it almost against her will. Thus the sequence ends on an ambiguous, puzzling note.

Despite its difficulties, "Poem for a Birthday" can be read as a unified, forceful work depicting the anguished evolution of its female speaker from a condition of self-abnegation and emptiness through painful confrontations with troubled relationships in her past and present to the verge of the emergence of a new, more confident self. The numerous, abruptly shifting, and disparate metaphors seem intended to reflect the complexities of this psychological process, while the disjunctive form mirrors its fragmented, often illogical nature. The poem is important in the Plath canon for several reasons. First, it is among her earliest attempts to incorporate highly personal material more directly into her work, an influence of Roethke, Lowell, Sexton, and Hughes; it reflects her attempts during 1959 to deal with her past and present problems with parents and husband in sessions with her psychiatrist, her bouts with imaginative sterility, her ambivalent

feelings about her pregnancy, and her continuing search for her true identity, both personal and poetic. Second, it is among her earliest deliberate attempts to break away from the highly structured verse that she had always written in favor of a freer, more associative form. While it is overstating the case to assert, as have a number of critics, that the poem is a direct breakthrough to the spectacular poems of her last five months since several years as well as several poetic styles intervene, there is no doubt that it is a herald of their more open forms, their disparate metaphors, and their intimate subject matter, though not of their passion and fury. In the final analysis, however, "Poem for a Birthday" is significant not solely or even largely as a harbinger of things to come but in its own right for the psychological complexity of its themes, the inventiveness of its metaphors, and the demands it makes of and the insights it offers to its readers.

NOTES

¹References to the following works by Plath will be abbreviated in parenthetical documentation in the text: *The Journals of Sylvia Plath*, ed. Ted Hughes and Frances McCullough (New York, 1982) as J; *The Bell Jar* (New York, 1978) as BJ; *The Collected Poems of Sylvia Plath*, ed. Ted Hughes (New York, 1981) as CP; *Letters Home*, ed. Aurelia Schober Plath (New York, 1975) as LH.

²List of poem submissions for the Fall of 1959, Plath Collection, Smith College Library Rare Book Room.

³This letter of March 29, 1961, from Judith B. Jones to Plath is in the Plath Collection of the Smith College Library Rare Book Room.

⁴See Marjorie Perloff, "Sylvia Plath's 'Sivvy' Poems: A Portrait of the Poet as Daughter," *Sylvia Plath: New Views on the Poetry*, ed. Gary Lane (Baltimore, 1979), pp. 167-69, on the similarities and differences between Plath and Roethke. She concludes that, despite numerous borrowings, "Plath does not really resemble Roethke."

⁵Judith Kroll, *Chapters in a Mythology: The Poetry of Sylvia Plath* (New York, 1976), pp. 96-97, 238, 240.

⁶"Notes on the Chronological Order of Sylvia Plath's Poems," *The Art of Sylvia Plath*, ed. Charles Newman (Bloomington, 1970), p. 192.

⁷"Notes," p. 192. I am indebted to Ruth Mortimer, Curator of Rare Books in the Smith College Rare Book Room, for pointing out to me that the short list is in Plath's handwriting.

⁸Kroll, p. 91.

⁹Kroll, p. 92.

¹⁰The line may echo Eliot's "Rhapsody on a Windy Night": "Midnight shakes the memory/ As a madman shakes a dead geranium."

¹¹The references to "all-mouth" and eating apply to various figures, including the speaker herself, the father/husband, and perhaps the mother. Plath records in a journal entry for 4 October her realization upon reading Jung that many of the images he discusses appear in her dreams. One is "the image of the eating mother, or grandmother: all mouth, as in Red Riding Hood (and I had used the image of the wolf). All this relates in a most meaningful way my instinctive images with perfectly valid psychological analysis" (J 320).

¹²See the early version of "All the Dead Dears," the short story, "Among the Bumblebees," and "The Beekeeper's Daughter."

¹³There may be an echo of Tennyson's "Dark House" passage (VII of "In Memoriam"), although the two share nothing more than the speaker's depressed state.

¹⁴See Perloff, pp. 168-69, and Gary Lane, "Influence and Originality in Plath's Poems," *Sylvia Plath: New Views on the Poetry*, ed. Gary Lane (Baltimore, 1979), p. 123, on Plath's borrowings from Roethke in "Dark House." In addition to their findings, there are also echoes from the poems in *The Lost Son*, *Praise to the end*, and *Words for the Wind*.

¹⁵The phrase "Mother of Beetles" is written beside Plath's list of topics. Kroll notes that "the epithet 'mother of beetles' comes from a Zulu tale collected by Radin—'Untombine, the Tall Maiden,' in which a monster, 'Onomabunge' ('mother of beetles'), devours a king's daughter. The monster is eventually slain, and the daughter disgorged—'reborn' from this mother" (p. 240).

¹⁶Kroll, p. 241.

¹⁷Eileen M. Aird, "'Poem for a Birthday' to Three Women: Development in the Poetry of Sylvia Plath," *Sylvia Plath: The Critical Heritage*, ed. Linda W. Wagner (London, 1988), p. 99.

**“CONCEAL ME WHAT I AM”:
READING THE SECOND SCENE OF *TWELFTH NIGHT***

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I take as my starting point the moment in the second scene of *Twelfth Night* when Viola, finding herself alone in the world, turns to her friend the Captain and says, *Conceal me what I am*. The line is central not only to a play filled with characters whose true identities are concealed from each other and from themselves but to Shakespeare himself, the writer about whose life we know so very little, whose “negative capability” enabled him to conceal and project his identity (in words) into the hundreds of characters whose words—his words—compose his plays. What Viola wants to be concealed in this case is her gender, the hidden form of her female private parts which biologically determine the nature of the self she projects to the world. But even as *Conceal me what I am* informs us of Viola’s plan to hide her sexuality from a threatening world, it also (and simultaneously) enacts the disguise of the identity that *Conceal me* calls for, in that the subject (Viola) that *me* refers to is itself disguised in the words *what I am*—a literal reconfiguration of the person whose sign is *me*—words which in effect double, by echoing the idea of, the word *me*.

This paper focuses on the Act 1 Scene 2 of *Twelfth Night*, a play composed of lines as simply complex as *Conceal me what I am*, whose words enact—which is to say imagine, embody, perform—what those words themselves talk about. My assumption is that what makes *Twelfth Night* a great work of literature is not its large-scale and recognizably humane thematic concerns—“the saturnalian reversal of social roles,” in C. L. Barber’s classic formulation, or “the pattern...of separation from and reunion with the family” in Coppélia Kahn’s psychological reading¹—but the incredibly dense surface texture of its language, a surface composed of what I want to call private meanings—meanings embedded and concealed at the microtonal level of language itself, meanings whose multiplicity of rhyme-like echoes and doublings take place literally at every point.

The analysis that follows proposes to demonstrate the possibility of a reading that pays a great deal of attention to precisely the kinds of things that aren’t ordinarily noticed by readers and audiences—and aren’t talked about by literary critics. It means to slow down our experience of the play, both as text (on the page) and as performance (on stage), in order to range around in the materiality of its words, as if chronology—moving from start to finish *in time*—were no longer the central fact of

our experience of a literary work. Reading as closely as may be possible, it means to examine how the play's words work to make meanings in interaction with each other as elements of a language whose surface may be conceived as extending in all dimensions, spatial as well as temporal; as if the multiple linkages that could take place between one part and another might be perceived (by the reader, by the audience) in the instant of knowing the text itself, in the dynamics of whose operation each part functions in multiple systems of order simultaneously.

My reading thus proposes to be an instance of the kind of reading that names the possibilities of language itself, how words connect horizontally—across time and space—as well as vertically to establish ranges of meanings whose directions cross and recross, intersect, diverge, coalesce and split apart, neither simple nor simply interpretable by the critic whose reading would make the text stand as evidence of his or her “reading.” It has no object other than to describe what takes place in our experience of reading—or listening to—the play *slowed down* to a speed that would permit the mind to pause, consider, wonder, wander and digress. The play I am reading here is therefore, admittedly, not the play the audience is watching but an idea of that play, or as I prefer to think of it, that ideal play—the one Shakespeare wrote, discovered here as if for the first time in an archeology of meanings many of which appear to have no particular “significance:” which is itself significant so to speak, since the density of continuously unfolding atomic effects—effects that call little or no attention to themselves (*Conceal me what I am*)—is precisely what makes Shakespeare's plays so good.

The reading I propose is intentionally myopic, a gradual step by step (line by line) movement through the scene that prefers being lost in the details of the passage to constructing larger ideas about the passage or its themes. Meaning to be a model of reading as it might be, it means as well to identify what previous criticism has thought (or not thought) to overlook—those instances of meaning between the words themselves, “private” in the sense that they are discrete, imperceptible, intimate, *not* “public,” as often as not ordinary—and all the more effective for that reason. Public meaning can be paraphrased out of context, comprehended independently of the text it assumes to understand; private meaning can be identified only by describing, in language necessarily less elegant than that of its subject's, depending for its direction on the movement of the text it follows from line to line—the space occupied by the line (and by each word within that line)

simultaneously a moment of time comprised of sub-moments (words, syllables, phonemes, “silence”) each of which registers potentially multiple instances of significance (and/or insignificance) which the commentary upon private meaning would enter and unfold. The entrance into the text can be made at any point, from which, if one is persistent, every point can be reached: the whole of the text is hardly the point, after all, since to arrive at the whole will necessarily be to lose contact (as if by summary dismissal) with the parts that draw us to the text in the first place: parts the analysis of which can show us how the body (of the text) articulates itself independently of whatever we think to say about it, the reader in this case named as one who would simply anatomize (in writing) the facts (in words) of that body: the suggestion of its sound as thought, shape, rhythm, image, tone—or syntax (grammar) in which those elements echo and cohere; so that structures that may be described (the writing of this reading) will be seen to swerve and repeat and overlap, *Conceal[ing] me from what I am* only in so far as words may be taken as enactments of the world that the play’s words perform.

Viola’s question in line 1 asks for us what we ourselves ask: *What country, friends, is this?* The first scene has just ended with Orsino’s call for his household to go away before him *to sweet beds of flowers*, an exit cue that serves to send us both out of doors—into nature—and back to bed, in his case, a bed *canopied with bow’rs* suggestive of the green world where love, at least in dream, might take place. (Notice that Orsino’s proclaimed destination was not one bed but *beds*, a plural that suggests both the multiple locations of places the expectant lover might lie and the series of rests (encounters) he desires to enjoy there, and one that will itself be echoed in Feste’s final song, when he sings of the time *when I came unto my beds*—again plural, as if one could lie in two places at once, or one place again and again.) Viola’s question to the Captain thus serves as a kind of link from the first scene to the second: where Orsino leaves the first scene on his way out, Viola, his future wife, begins the second scene outdoors, asking where she is. The fact that she doesn’t know where she is suggests that she is a stranger here, someone who has just arrived. As such, the audience’s possibly first impression upon seeing Viola walk on stage—that she is Olivia, the woman who has been the subject of conversation in the preceding scene—will immediately be upset by the words she first speaks. This can’t be Olivia, though she appears to be as young and as beautiful as the woman Orsino desires must be, because she doesn’t seem to know where she is. At the same time, because the scene has

changed, we cannot be sure that this isn't Olivia, who has already been linked to the ocean by her salt tears, and who may now be entering with men clearly dressed as sailors. And as we soon discover, this woman too has lost a brother, making her a kind of second Olivia—Olivia's sister, or twin. Notice that we don't yet know Viola's name, and will not hear that name spoken until Sebastian first says it says it in Act 5 (*Thrice welcome, drowned Viola!*); we will hear instead her assumed name, Cesario, the name of her other identity as Orsino's man servant, linking her in ways the play links her throughout both to Orsino, whom she desires, and to Olivia, who desires her (and whose name, though we haven't yet heard it spoken, is—like Malvolio's—her name's twin). Viola and Olivia are also linked by the fact that Olivia will later ask *What's he at the gate, cousin* (1.5.111-12), changing both the terms of the question Viola asks here from geographic place to person and the person(s) addressed from *friends* to *cousin*; and that Viola/Cesario in that scene has become the person *at the gate*, just as Olivia, who in the extremity of her mourning is in some sense "ill," becomes the country (Illyria) whose name now answers the question Viola poses.

The first two words of the Captain's answer to Viola's question, *This is Illyria, Lady*, completes a perfectly commonplace chiasmus (*is this?/ This is*) that will be echoed later by Feste's empty-sounding but thematically significant quip, *That that is is* (4.2.14). The string of various short *i* sounds in the first four syllables of this line, added to the two short *i*'s in the last two syllables of the preceding line (making a string of six syllables chiming in assonance) takes part in another pattern that couples terms of address (*friends/Lady*) around the phonetically—and syntactically-coupled word string, *is this? This is Illyria*. The insistence of the short *i* sound works in effect as a kind of runway upon which the ear is made to approach, take in and continue beyond the name of the country that answers Viola's opening question, a country(side) that is, as Orsino's closing lines of scene 1 suggest, landscaped with *sweet beds of flowers* and *canopied bow'rs*. Illyria is, as the notes tell us, "on the east coast of the Adriatic (*Pelican*)," "what is now Yugoslavia" (*Arden*); its first syllable is also, crucially, *Ill-*, an echo both phonetically and substantively of Orsino's appetite for the music and love which *may sicken and so die*, as well as phonetic echo of Olivia's own name—place name and condition of its inhabitants resonating in ways that extend to every surface of the fabric that has begun to be unfolded.

The opening of Viola's next speech, *And what should I do in Illyria?* is again a "what" question, one that links her in different ways both to Orsino and to Olivia. Her question echoes Orsino's question and response to Curio's question in 1.1 (*Will you go hunt, my Lord?/ What, Curio?...why, so I do...*); it also repeats Orsino's question, posed through his emissary Valentine, to Olivia, who, Valentine reports, has indeed determined what *she* will do in Illyria (*she will veiled walk,/ And water once a day her chamber round/ With eye offending brine*). As the second half of its title suggests, what one should (or will) "do" in Illyria is in some sense the play's central question, the question each of its characters is asking—how to *hunt the hart, season/ A dead brother's love, serve this Duke, be Count Malvolia, or drink as long as there is passage in my throat and drink in Illyria*.

The casual-sounding tone of Viola's initial response to the Captain suddenly shifts in the next line, *My brother he is in Elysium*, whose completion of an artfully rhyme-like coupling of locations—*Illyria/Elysium*, this place of delirious illness opposed but simultaneously connected to that heavenly place—answers the question she has just asked by implying another question: "Since my brother is dead, what does it matter where I am or what I do?" Viola's actions in Illyria will indeed be limited by the loss of her brother, as are Olivia's, whose attachment (in mourning) to her brother takes precedence over whatever romantic affection she might form for one who loves her.

But whereas one should take comfort in the fact that one's loved ones are, if dead, at least in heaven (as Feste's catechism in 1.5 proves that Olivia is a fool for mourning the brother she believes is in heaven), Viola turns instead to the more immediate glimmer of hope: *Perchance he is not drowned*. The kind ofameleon-like changeableness we have just seen in Orsino's mind in its shifting from desire to surfeit—*Give me excess ...to Enough, no more ...*—is replayed here in reverse order, the fatigue and hopelessness attending Viola's realization that her brother is dead changing suddenly into its opposite in the hope that perhaps her brother is *not* dead. She doesn't say "dead," of course, but *drowned*, which echoes the image in Orsino's opening speech of the sea (or sea of love), in whose capacity things (in this case a loved brother's body) may enter and be received. And if there is some hope he may still be alive, who better to ask (in her third "what" question in four lines) but the sailor who might have seen him.

The repetition of the word *perchance* in the Captain's reply, *It is perchance that you yourself were saved*, links Viola's happy escape from a near-drowning we don't yet know about with her brother's possible

escape from a similar fate. It also participates in a chiasmic sequence (*Perchance he is/ It is perchance*) whose incidental shifting of terms (*he...It*) leads to a significant shifting of further terms (*he* becomes *you yourself*, *drowned* becomes *saved*). Notice that we do not notice that other terms (and sounds) in these two lines, also incidentally, both do and do not shift: *you* (meaning “sailors”) becomes *you* (meaning Viola) who is “saved.”

Metrically irregular, Viola’s next line—*O my poor brother, and so perchance may he be*—divides itself into two unequal halves that are at once pulled together phonetically (by the *o* sounds in *O* and *so*, *m* sounds in *my* and *may*, and *p*-plus-vowel-*r* sounds in *poor* and *per*-) and split apart by their apparently contradictory substance and tone: *O my poor brother*, by itself, leads to total despair; *and so perchance may he be* opens itself up to the hope that Viola was not the only one to have escaped drowning.

The first words of the Captain’s response in line 8, *True, madam; and, to comfort you with chance*, seems on the surface straightforward enough: Viola’s brother may indeed also have been saved. But what exactly does his *True, madam* respond to—the hope registered in Viola’s *and so perchance may he be*, or, conversely, her exclamation of despair in *O my poor brother*? (If the latter, the Captain seems to confirm that Viola’s brother has indeed been drowned.) As the line continues, the phonetic links provided by the conjunction (the words *madam; and* are triply tied, by *m/n*, short *a* and *d* sounds) extend to the last syllable of the line (*chance*) which recurs here for the third time in three lines: *perchance...perchance...chance*. *And* is itself given metrical weight, after the trochaic reversal of the first foot followed by strong caesura

/ x | x /
True, mad | am; and),

that emphasis linking it to the assertion of (favorable) chance that will provide the *comfort* Viola desires.

The Captain begins his narrative in line 9, *Assure yourself, after our ship did split*, by repeating himself in several ways at once: *Assure you*- echoes the syntax and idea of *comfort you* (8); vowel-plus-*r* sounds recur in *-sure*, *your*-, *-ter*, and *our*, and short *i*, *d/t* and *s* sounds in *ship did split*. Divided by these sound patterns, the line itself splits into two unequal halves, the first informed by an internal shift in pronouns (the second person *yourself* changes to the first person plural *our*) which

echoes grammatically the logic of the second: what the line “says” and what the line “does” rhyme. Notice also the rhyme-like logics by which *yourself* is coupled to *our ship*, and the way that *our ship did split* echoes the division of *yourself*—the dynamics whereby a shifting of pronouns (*yourself*, *after our*) creates a division of the whole self, the interactions of whose parts constitutes exactly such a division.

Line 10, *When you, and those poor number saved with you*, which is also split apart rhythmically by the caesura after *you*, is simultaneously pulled together at its extremities by the anaphora-like pairing of *When you...with you*. The time sense introduced by the preceding line’s *after* is repeated here in *When*, making it at once more emphatic and less certain: *When* after the break-up of the ship did the event the Captain is about to narrate take place? The focus on time in the Captain’s story amounts to suspense, any delay in the relation of which increases—by adding words to—that effect. The time it takes to tell the story seems also to be extended by the Captain’s language, which continues to digress: *poor number* repeats, with variation, Viola’s *poor brother* in line 7; *saved with you* echoes in reverse the Captains’s previous *you...saved* in line 6. Notice also that the shift in grammar, from the plural (*those*) to singular (*number*) saved, registers a shift in Viola’s expectation: if more than one person has been rescued, there is a chance her brother was among *those...saved*; but if the number was indeed *poor* (meager) his chances for survival must proportionately shrink.

The potential reversal of fortune enacted in line 10 is reenacted in line 11, *Hung on our driving boat, I saw your brother*, in the logic by which *Hung on* suggests being hanged (killed). The shift by which *our ship* (9) here changes to *our...boat* imagines the splitting up of one vessel into smaller parts of itself, though *boat* at the same time, especially one that is *driving*, seems to contradict what we know to be true: that the ship did in fact break apart. If it is *driving*, as this story itself drives forward, it must be because of the wind (so a storm); those in the story, those hearing it in Illyria (on stage) and those in the audience witness to its telling (on stage or, as readers, on the page) are carried forward through the line, which closes what had been opened in the previous line’s *When* clause: then [implied] *I saw your brother*. But at the same time as this clause drives the action of the Captain’s story forward, it digresses both grammatically—in the pronouns (*our...your*) that reverse the order of the same two pronouns two lines before (*your-...our*)—and substantively—in the several logics by which *your brother* rehears (or mishears) *poor number* (10), *poor brother* (7)

and *my brother* (4). As for the comma after *brother*, the eye sees (and ear hears) more delay: the inevitable suspension (of time and space) registered by the line break is extended further, that is, as if to insist that the meaning of what the Captain saw (*your brother*) will not and cannot be known any time soon. Everything in this play in fact has to do with delay—the suspension imagined in *Hung on our driving boat*—which at every level and in every dimension amounts in effect to the play's denial of—or refusal to arrive at—closure.

Line 12, *Most provident in peril, bind himself* again divides itself at the comma, the appositive phrase separating subject from predicate, both halves linked across the caesura by multiple likenesses of sound: *p/b* plosives in *provident, peril, bind*; vowel-plus-*n*-plus-*d/t* in *provident* and *bind*; vowel-plus-*l* in *peril* and *himself*. *Provident* by itself suggests both seeing forward—moving as the Captain's story moves, though it in fact is looking back to actions that have already taken place—and, more distantly, the foresight of divinity whose care serves to protect one in situations as perilous as the sinking of a ship. The brother's action, *bind*[ing] *himself*, makes no clear sense at this point—more suspense, extended delay: what exactly did the Captain see?

Line 13, (*Courage and hope both teaching him the practice*) furthers that delay, the parenthesis an audience will not see (no matter how effective the actor's voice in registering its interruption) leading us to hear—or mishear, momentarily—*Courage* and *hope* as the second and third members in a list of objects bound by the brother, beginning with *himself*. It thereby makes these two abstractions concrete—things, like *himself*, that can be tied up—which the line's substance implies as well, in effect personifying both *Courage* and *hope* as figures capable of *teaching* the brother something. The word *both* operates in two systems at once here, one completed and the other not: it links *Courage* and *hope* together and simultaneously suggests that they both *teach....him the practice* and [blank]: conjunction and verb missing, and not to be supplied, the expectation of closure in this frame of reference, as elsewhere throughout the play on all levels, denied.

Although the sense of line 14, *To a strong mast that liv'd upon the sea*, links it back to the end of line 12 (*bind himself ...To a strong mast*), an audience who won't see the close of the parenthesis, even though it hears some pause (depending on the actor's intonation) after *practice*, will be momentarily led to connect *practice/To a strong mast that liv'd*—a linkage the short *a* sounds in *practice, mast* and *that* and the short *i* sounds in *practice* and *liv'd* persuades us, even though the

grammar and logic of that statement don't make sense. At the same time, this mistaken unfolding of the Captain's story *does* make sense: as we wait for the still missing (and never to appear) second verb whose presence is implied in *both teaching*, (mis)hear the brother *bind himself*, *Courage and hope*, and again (mis)hear this pair of personifications *teaching him the practice/ To a strong mast*, we are led to experience a literal enactment of the gap between events in the world and events in words—whose multiple interactions may be thus easily fused. In any case, the image of the brother binding himself to a mast binds him also to Odysseus, whose story thus fuses with this one. The dimensions of his narrative suddenly expanding, the Captain becomes a second Homer, each tells of a sea adventure whose protagonist ties himself—or in Odysseus' case, is tied by his men—to a mast in order to escape certain *peril*, which leads one to ask: who are the sirens of *Twelfth Night*—Olivia/Viola?—and where (and from where) is this brother sailing?

Whereas Odysseus' mast was still fixed to his ship, the brother's *liv'd upon the sea/ Where, like Arion on the dolphin's back*—the Captain's story suddenly shifting to another classical myth, the story of the poet Arion, who with his music charms the dolphin that later, when he is thrown overboard by pirates, saves him from drowning (Ovid's *Fasti*, 2.79-118). And whereas the echo of Odysseus in the preceding line may be heard or not, the now-literary Captain's explicit reference to a legendary Greek poet can't be mistaken: following this parallel, one is led to wonder if this brother too is escaping from pirates—both yes and no, as it turns out, since Sebastian comes ashore with Antonio, his friend the pirate, from whose company he spends considerable energy attempting to escape. Notice how Arion is joined to the dolphin not only by myth but, loosely, by the vowel-plus-*n* sound in *Arion...on...dolphin's*, and how the logic (and sound) of *mast...upon...sea* is both continued and discontinued in the logic of *Arion on the dolphin's back*.

Line 16, *I saw him hold acquaintance with the waves* continues to shift frames of reference, in ways that both widen the gap between the story that is told and the events it reports and effectively undermine the claim that his story will be a "comfort" to Viola, since the Captain's grammatical slip suggests that he (rather than the brother) was the one who rode like Arion on the dolphin's back. While *I saw him* here echoes, with variation, *I saw your brother* in line 11, the action seen in each case is remarkably different: in one, the brother binds himself to a *mast that liv'd upon the sea* (presumably saving him); in the other, he

hold[s] acquaintance with the waves—a description whose sense of intimacy between the person and water might well be taken as a sign that he was not “saved” but indeed drowned. (Compare Gertrude’s account of Ophelia, who in drowning appears similarly—and curiously—at home in the water:

Her clothes spread wide,
And mermaid-like awhile they bore her up;
Which time she chanted snatches of old tunes,
As one incapable of her own distress,
Or like a creature native and endued
Unto that element. But long it could not be
Till that her garments, heavy with their drink,
Pulled the poor wretch from her melodious lay
To muddy death. [4.7.150-58]

Like line 16, which leaves the brother suspended on (or in) the water, hardly “saved” even if not yet “drowned” (notice that *hold acquaintance with the waves* suggests a kind of speaking, or conversation—as in holding forth—that seems to go on and on), the Captain’s speech ends inconclusively in line 17: *So long as I could see*. The end of the story determines what we know of the action it unfolds, action whose resolution is—crucially—not included in the story. What is missing is exactly what Viola needs most to know, not what happened up through this point (what the Captain saw *So long as [he] could see*) but what happened next, what apparently he did not see. Still, in telling the story in the first place, the Captain of course means to offer Viola the hope that her brother may well have been “saved”; also wanting to convey that possibility, but at the same time constructing a story of suspense created by literally shifting frames of reference, delay and the refusal of closure, Shakespeare in turn means us to expect that this brother will probably turn up later in the play.

Viola in response—*For saying so, there’s gold*—becomes a reader (or better, member of the audience), whose interpretation of the story (a reading) ascribes to it the happy ending she so much wants. Her payment to the Captain—does she throw him a coin from her purse? where did she get it?—echoes in reverse the *debt of love* that Orsino says Olivia pays to *her* bother (1.1.35), the economic transaction arising in one case from the grief that he is dead, and in the other from the mirror-like opposite hope that he is still alive. The logic by which the Captain’s telling of his story leads to Viola’s giving him her gold is itself enacted literally, in the recurrence of *so* (*So long as I could see/*

For saying so) and, more particularly, in the phonetic linking of vowel-plus-*r* and long *o* sounds in both halves of the telling/paying equation (*For...so, there's gold*). Notice that it isn't what he saw that warrants her reward but what he says—the fact of putting into words, no matter how far that language may be from the event, counting in this case for everything one can hope for.

Only six syllables long, line 18 has created a space (in the silence of its “missing” syllables) not only for the action of Viola's tossing or handing the Captain her gold but for her thoughts to move to the next step—*Mine own escape unfoldeth to my hope*—which as it turns out is backward. In thinking of *Mine own escape* from the sea she remembers the past, a memory that immediately moves through the present into a future in which she imagines her brother will still be alive. The long *o* sounds in the line separate and at the same time link together in a chain each of these temporal stages: *Mine own escape* (what happened in the past) *unfoldeth* (memory replaying it in the present) *to my hope* (for what she wants to know with certainty in the future).

The sense of direction implicit in the words *unfoldeth to my hope* (concrete “action” leading to abstract “position”) continues in the opening word of line 20, *Whereto thy speech serves for authority*, which suggests both place and, in its repeated preposition *to*, the act of getting there. What happens from this point forward, however, shifts the idea from a focus on *hope* (that Viola's brother *has* escaped and *is* alive) to a focus on the Captain's story (which may or may not be understood to confirm these possibilities, depending on one's “reading” of his *speech*). The word *speech* itself operates in at least two logics at once, denoting both the Captain's narrative account of what he saw and, stepping outside of the fiction of the play, the actor who plays the Captain's delivery of that “speech.” Moving—again with double logic—forward in both these directions simultaneously, the word *authority* means to convey both the Captain's credibility as a witness to recent events on the high seas and Shakespeare's own absent presence—the identity behind, and responsible for, all of these speeches.

A sentence that has begun two lines earlier concludes in line 21, *The like of him. Know'st thou this country?*, with a phrase whose meaning would be completely obscure were it not for the fact that we are persuaded that we understand exactly what the words mean: just as Viola has escaped, so she hopes *has* her brother. The construction in which *The like of him* is taken as an ellipsis for “the same thing that happened to me will have happened to him”—where *him* is the same *him* the Captain saw *hold[ing] acquaintance with the waves* (16)—

stretches the imagination's capacity to shape, and conceive the meaning of, words in ways analogous to the way in which Viola allows herself to believe her brother was saved even though the Captain has explicitly *not* confirmed that fact. Her readiness to believe what she wants to believe is reflected in, and perceived because of, our own readiness to believe we understand the sense of something that does not literally make sense. Like Arion on the dolphin's back, both the character and her audience are led to experience a possibility beyond the limits of what one would have thought, without these words, would be possible. Having made that leap of faith, satisfying herself that what at the start of this scene she had not dared to hope for (her brother's escape) has indeed occurred, she returns literally to the start of the scene: *Know'st thou this country?*

In answering "yes"—*Ay, madam, well, for I was bred and born*—the Captain's *Ay* in line 22 sounds again (with different sense) five syllables later in the first person pronoun *I*, a rhyme-like pulling together and pushing apart that is reenacted (with different terms) in the alliterative and logical coupling of *bred* and *born*. The line's substance looks back in time to two different events, the first—his conception, nine months earlier than the second, his birth—one the Captain could not himself have witnessed. Notice that *well*, which registers the extent of his knowledge, is linked by short *e* to *bred* (itself linked by consonance and logic to *born*), which registers the source of that knowledge. Still, one thinks to ask, how does he know where his parents conceived him, and what does that have to do with his knowledge of *this country*?

The operation of a logic by which the first three words of line 23, *Not three hours from this very place*, are taken to measure both time and space—"less than three hours (but more than two)" and "the distance equal to less than three hours"—leads to a separate logic by which *this very place* is taken to mean two different measures of space—"this country" (which it echoes from line 21) and "this piece of ground upon which we are standing." At the same time, *place* at the end of the line also implies the present tense—the place where we are standing *now*—which retroactively turns the Captain's claim that he was *bred* and *born* three hours from now into mere, if only momentary, lunacy.

Interpreting the phrase *this very place* to mean not the ground under her feet but the political state, Viola's question in line 24, *Who governs here?*, effectively stops the shifting of scales implicit in the preceding line. The silence at the end of her question, an empty space

where six syllables would have sounded were not the line metrically irregular, may be heard as a kind of drum-roll (or absence of it) leading up to the introduction of the name of the man who will soon become her husband.

The first four syllables of line 25, *A noble duke, in nature as in name*, answer—metrically as well as logically—the only four syllables of the preceding line, and echo as well a significant—and unnoticed—strand of Viola's preceding question: *Know'st thou this count?* What follows may in turn be said to echo the silence of expectation implied by the missing six syllables of line 24: *nature* and *name*, words that are linked together not only by vowel and consonant sounds but by the logic of their relation to the word *noble*, reconstruct the blank space that is as yet unfilled in Viola's knowledge of Orsino.

What is his name? Viola asks in line 26 (her third question in as many lines), these four syllables in effect repeating the four-syllable "who" question of line 24. The echo of sound and substance continues, after the line stops, in the silence that again fills out the absence of syllables at the end of the line. Once the sound of the question stops, no sound takes over, occupying (as measure) the duration of a line whose extension into silence delays an answer to *What is his name*, thereby building (again the silent drum-roll) suspense.

The play's first one-word line, *Orsino*, repeats the first name under "Names of the Actors" (which an audience will not yet have heard), where it was followed by his official title: *Orsino, Duke of Illyria*. No title amplifies the name here—preceding lines have in effect already delivered the information—only the three-syllable word, *Orsino*, whose presence carries sufficient weight to hold down, single-handedly so to speak, the entire line. Orsino's reputation, as delivered by this and the preceding line, seems more impressive indeed than the character who presents himself on stage, the character the play *shows* us: the Orsino imagined by the Captain's naming of him here—the *one self king* (1.1.40) he sees in himself, whom soon enough Viola herself will see and bow to—looms larger by far than the figure in 1.1. who, like Proust, can hardly get out of bed.²

Echoing exactly the Captain's naming of Orsino, Viola's response in line 28, *Orsino! I have heard my father name him*, in turn leads backward in time to her memory of her father's original naming. The word *Orsino* here completes a pattern of linked identities in which the first words in two consecutive lines (*Orsino/Orsino*) are identical both to each other and to the idea of the last words in the two preceding lines (*name/name*) which are themselves identical; notice, too, that the word

name, which occurs three times in four lines, functions differently in each line: in the Captain's *A noble duke, in nature as in name*, the word *name* connotes Orsino's privileged social rank, his fame and reputation; in Viola's *What is his name*, it denotes the designation by which that person is known; in her *I have heard my father name him*, it names the action of her father naming Orsino. This literal doubling of the spoken name (*Orsino/Orsino!*) followed by an implied tripling of that name—which isn't in fact sounded and isn't heard by an audience, though Viola says that she herself has heard it—repeats with variations the kinds of doubling and tripling of elements that gives shape and texture to the surface of the play at virtually every point: the build-up of Viola's questions about Orsino interspersed with the Captain's answers, for instance, in *Know'st thou this country?...Who governs here?...What is his name?*

Her father's naming of Orsino is extended, and complicated, by Viola's recollection in line 29 that *He was a bachelor then*. Momentarily ambiguous, *He* refers as easily to the father—which doesn't make sense, in that Viola would not have been *bred and born* yet, and so couldn't then have heard him speaking—as to Orsino: the grammatical bonding of the father with Orsino provides a foundation upon which the patriarch's choice of a suitable husband for his daughter can take place. Never stated as such, the appearance of Orsino in her father's thoughts—echoed by his sounding of Orsino's name—has set into motion (even before the play begins) that generic and engendering drive toward the inevitable, multiple couplings of both language (enacted throughout the play) and marriage (to be enacted after the play ends).

Amplifying the desire the young woman has implicitly—and yet unknowingly—felt since *then*, the metrically-dictated voicing of silence after Viola's recollection (six or seven syllables, depending upon the actor's slurring or articulation of *bach-e-lor*) leads to the Captain's confirmation in line 30 of what she hopes—but doesn't know she hopes—is true: *And so is now, or was so very late*—a line that echoes the line it responds to in a multitude of ways. Temporally (and grammatically), *was* is answered by *is*, *then* by *now*; logically, *a bachelor* is both identical and not identical to *so*. Within the line itself the linkage of sequential alternate conjunctions (*And ...or*) alternates with both the chiasmic linkage of *so is...was so*—compare Feste's *Nothing that is so is so* (4.1.8) and *That that is is* (4.2.11)—and the temporal linkage of *now...very late*, which itself completes a construction in these two lines of three distinct, non-sequential time

frames: the distant past (*then*, when Viola heard her father speak), the present (*now*), the recent past (*very late*—meaning not “after” or “toward the end” but, as an ellipsis for *lately*, “not long since”).

Line 31, *For but a month ago I went from hence*, continues the train of thought he has just begun by repeating both the idea of time (*very late* becomes *a month ago*) and the sequence of sounds (vowel-plus-*r*, schwa, long *o*) in the syllables that convey that idea: *or was so.../ For but a month ago*. The conjunction *For* at the beginning of the line, here meaning “because” (the OED cites *Othello* 3.4.161: “They are jealous for they’re jealous”), as in Viola’s *For saying so* (18) and the Captain’s *For I was bred and born* (22), followed by a *but* which functions here not as the fourth conjunction in less than two lines (*And, or, For, but*) but adverbially, meaning “only,” as in Orsino’s *To pay this debt of love but to a brother* (1.1.35), mirrors a similarly knotted conjunction at the end of the line, where *went from hence* couples together the past tense of the verb “go” followed by a preposition, here used to specify the starting point in a spacial movement, followed by the effectively redundant adverb *hence*, which echoes the sound of *went* and the logic of *from*, meaning “from here, from this place” (the OED cites *Richard II* 3.3.6: “Richard, not farre from hence, hath hid his head”), thus in effect repeating—at once expanding and condensing—the Captain’s account of his birth *Not three hours’ travel from this very place* (23).

Calling no attention to itself, the word *then* in line 32, *And then ‘twas fresh in murmur (as you know*, complicates the sequential linkage of time frames (present, recent past, distant past) by repeating the sound but not the logic of *then* in line 29 (distant past); it also participates in what has become a phonetically linked pattern of alternating short *e* syllables (*went...hence/... then...fresh*); and momentarily at least seems to participate as well in what the conjunction *And* promises will be a linked series of first person pronoun subject-verb constructions—*I went.../ And then* [I saw, heard, conquered, etc.] which does not materialize, *then* instead followed by a new subject (third person pronoun *’t* whose verb, *was*, resounds the *was* of line 30, whose subject (understood) was *He*. Similarly, and equally not noticed, the phrase *fresh in murmur* echoes the Captain’s earlier phrase *noble...in name*. The opening of a parenthesis (visible to the reader but inaudible on stage) which the end of the line leaves open—the metrically emphatic long *o* of *know* echoing a series of *o* sounds extending back through five lines: *Orsino, Orsino, so, so, ago*—encloses in the *as* clause a

logic that misleads us to believe that Viola herself already knows the substance of the rumor.

Line 33, *What great ones do, the less will prattle of*), which closes the parenthesis, demands that we readjust our understanding of the sense of the previous line: knowing in fact nothing of what *was fresh in murmur*, Viola knows instead *What great ones do*. Again, momentarily misled by an absent but implied “that” preceding *What*, our sense of the *as* clause begun in line 32 must shift when we hear *the less will prattle of*, whose completion of a pair of ideational rhymes—*great ones* opposed to *the less*, *do* opposed to *prattle* (which itself echoes the idea of *murmur*)—forces us to hear the implied “that” (in front of *What*) we did not hear, a “that” whose absent presence causes what is now closed inside of the parenthesis to mean what it suddenly comes to mean.

Line 34, *That he did seek the love of fair Olivia*, delivers the substance of the *murmur* the Captain himself (one of *the less*) now *prattle[s] of*. The silent demonstrative pronoun (“that”) implied at the start of line 31 is sounded here in the relative pronoun *That*, whose presence in effect doubly reiterates what we didn’t hear (“that”) in what we did (*What*). Following the multiple echoes of *great ones* in *he* and *do* in *did*, the verb plus its object makes specific what it is that *great ones do*, in this case *seek the love of fair Olivia*—an act the audience (though not yet Viola) has already witnessed Orsino engaged in.

Asking her seventh question in fourteen lines (five of them beginning with *What*), Viola’s *What’s she?* in response to the Captain participates in both a chiasmic pattern involving “what” questions and names—*What’s his name?/ Orsino...Olivia/ What’s she?*—and an alternating pattern involving *That* and *What* beginning with the (implied) [That] at the start of line 33—[That] *What...That...What. What*, the interrogative pronoun equivalent to “who” (OED cites *The Taming of the Shrew* 4.2.62, “What is he, Biondello?” and *Othello* 1.1.94, Brabantio: “What are you?” Roderigo: “My name is Roderigo”), seeks to identify the person who is about to become both her rival and suitor by focusing upon her position or function, thereby echoing Viola’s earlier question about herself: *And what should I do in Illyria?* Again, the metrically-dictated silence at the end of the line—an open space greater than either the one following Viola’s *What’s his name?* (which will in turn be echoed in Olivia’s question about Viola/Cesario in 1.5.112: *What is he at the gate?*) or the Captain’s one-word answer, *Orsino*—stands for what is not known about Olivia (and what indeed cannot be known).

The Captain identifies Olivia in line 36, *A virtuous maid, daughter of a count*, in four distinct frames of reference: moral (she is *virtuous*), sexual (she is a virgin, a *maid*), familial (she is a *daughter*), and social (her father is a *count*). Having already called Orsino a *noble duke*, the Captain's naming of Olivia in these terms connects her to Orsino, through the pairing of *virtuous/noble*, who, through the pairing of *count/duke*, is in turn connected to her father. Since Orsino is himself called *Count* elsewhere in the play, and since Orsino seems to be considerably older than Olivia—see the exchange between Sir Andrew and Sir Toby:

Andrew: The Count himself here hard by woos her.

Toby: She'll none o' th' Count. She'll not match above
her degree, neither in estate, years, nor wit; I have
heard her swear 't. (1.3.96-99)

—the line momentarily seems to suggest that Olivia is Orsino's daughter—a suggestion which retroactively makes Orsino's behavior in the first scene appear to be even more perverse than it did, and which the first scene itself works to discount. (Notice that Olivia's father the *count*, and through him Olivia herself, is also linked to the *country* [21] where each of them lives.)

Moving time not only forward but back, the relative clause that begins line 37, *That did some twelvemonth since, then leaving her*, leads to an unfinished adverbial clause whose action in the present tense (*leaving her*) reenacts the already completed action (the father's death) of the preceding clause. The coupling of *since, then* around the comma does something of the same thing: the missing but understood present implied by *since*, meaning "ago" or "before now," opposes the past tense made explicit in *then*, i.e. twelve months ago. This potential confusion of temporal frameworks is further extended in the multiple ways that *twelvemonth* echoes the play's title, *Twelfth Night* —by number (noun/adjective), by units of time (thirty nights/one night)—suggesting for a moment significance, both to the time of the father's death and to the play's title, which the play itself does not expand upon.

The adverbial clause left open at the end of line 37 is completed in line 38, *In the protection of his son, her brother*, which will sound grammatically complete (finished) on stage even though it ends with a comma. The sense of this line forces us to readjust our understanding of the sense of the previous line—the father's *leaving her* not simply a case of abandoning her (disappearing) when he died but of making sure that she would be cared for by the male child, according to the

patriarchal codes of the family. The structure of that family is represented here in both what the words say and what they do: the father who *died* (the mother is already “missing”) *leaving her/ In the protection of his son* both has and has not “left” her, in that although he is in fact dead he has passed his power and authority on to the son, *her brother*, who becomes, as his heir, the new head of the family. The rhyme-like coupling of *his son*, *her brother* condenses as well as complicates this same triangular configuration: *his* being the father, *her* his daughter, *son* (and her brother), *brother* (and his son).

As the Captain’s narrative of events in Olivia’s family during the past year continues into line 39, *Who shortly also died; for whose dear love*, we are again forced to readjust our understanding of what we have just understood. As soon as Olivia’s father leaves her (37), she is left in the care of her brother (38), who *shortly also* leaves her. The two deaths, first of the father and then of the brother who has become a surrogate father, are linked both as events and by the grammar of the relative pronouns *That* and *Who*, whose simultaneous likeness and difference is in turn replayed in the rhyme-like echo of *Who* and *whose*, each of which participates as terms in a phonetic chiasmus involving the *or* sounds of *shortly* and *for*: *Who shortly...for whose*. *Shortly*, meaning “soon” (a short amount of time), itself echoes in reverse the length of time during which the Captain could follow Viola’s brother’s survival at sea—*So long as I could see* (17)—an echo whose language links the two brothers together in a different and more crucial opposition: one brother is perhaps still alive and the other surely is not.

Unnoticed and insignificant connections between the two brothers extend into line 40, *They say, she hath abjured the sight*, by means of a number of echoes whose presence enacts on the surface of the language what the language itself works to convey: these two brothers are *not* related, never met, never will meet—and yet, we cannot quite keep them separated in our minds. Just as the Captain’s account of his seeing Viola’s brother alive on the high seas leads her to respond by paying him *For saying so* (18), so his account of Olivia’s response to her brother’s death leads to different but related forms of saying and (not) seeing: according to what *They* (those who *murmur* and *prattle*) say, Olivia has *abjured...sight*.

Metrically irregular, line 41 is the play’s first divided line:

And company of men.
O that I served that lady.³

Its two halves, split between two speakers, are linked together by rhyme (*company...lady*) and to variously contradictory logics, the first presenting a woman who has turned away from *men*, the second presenting a woman (who will be dressed as a man) who would turn toward *that* same *lady* (notice the rhyming likeness and unlikeness of *that* and *that* in the second half of the line). The configurations of gender and number represented in *men* (plural) and *lady* (singular) maps out the play's dramatic action at least as far as Olivia is concerned: Orsino, Andrew, Malvolio and Sebastian—as well as, in different ways, Valentine, Cesario, Sir Toby, Fabian and Feste—comprise a literally theatrical *company of men* who press upon her their disparate, and sometimes disparate, desires.

Viola's expression of desire for what amounts to security in line 42, *And might not be delivered to the world*, echoes the preceding line not only syntactically—the conjunction *And* is followed by a missing but understood *O that I* which resounds the explicit *O that I* of line 41—but phonetically—the scrambling of short *e-r-l-d* sounds that link *delivered* and *world* echo those same sounds variously scrambled in *served* and *lady*—and logically—the expression of her desire *not to be delivered to the world* formulates in reverse her desire to *serve that lady*. The suggestion of sexual service that hovers in the distance behind the sense of servitude in the previous line (and that will reappear later in the play more insistently, in the closure of what Malvolio believes is Olivia's declaration of love and proposal for marriage: *She that will alter services with thee*) resurfaces—again in the distance—in the suggestions of birth implicit in *delivered to the world*: it is as if Viola's wish to serve Olivia represents her subliminal desire not to be born—as if she would reenter the womb of the mother who is missing, and for whom the virgin Olivia now comes momentarily to stand as surrogate, there to remain *undelivered* at least until her circumstances change.

That time arrives in line 43, *Till I had made mine own occasion mellow*, which works to define the conditions under which Viola will be willing to enter the world on her own. The active agency of the first person, in whose power it lies to make her *own occasion mellow*, reflects an equal but opposite passivity of the person who would previously not be turned out into the world. The suggestion in *mellow* of juicy ripeness as in fruit (OED cites *Coriolanus* 4.4.100: "As Hercules did Shake downe Mellow Fruite") extends the image of female pregnancy introduced, equally unobtrusively, in the preceding two lines,

an extension amplified by the word *made*, which echoes the Captain's reference to the virgin Olivia as *A virtuous maid* (36).

Regardless of the punctuation at the end of line 43—despite the Arden's note to the contrary, the comma proposed by Hammer eliminates the Folio's potential sense of *mellow* as a transitive verb whose object is yet to be supplied—line 44 may be read either as an appositive to the *mellow* (adjective) *occasion* that Viola hopes to realize in the future, or as the future result that she herself will bring about by making her own *occasion mellow* (i.e., “impart ripeness to”) *What mine estate is*. Although *What* functions in both cases as a relative pronoun (OED cites “Venus and Adonis,” 88: “So offers she to giue what she did craue”), in the first it refers to a potential future occasion that will be parallel to her former *estate* (position) as the daughter of her father, Sebastian of Messaline, and in the second it stands for the present unhappy *estate* she hopes to improve, one that has nothing necessarily to do with her past life. The Captain's reference to the nature of Viola's past, present and/or future *estate* (notice that *estate* as a past position reappears at the end of the play in the fifth line of Feste's song, *But when I came to man's estate*) in the second half of line 44, *That were hard to compass*, begins by completing an echo in reverse of the progression from *That* to *What* as the first words in lines 33-34. The circularity of this chiasmus (*That...What...What...That*) incidentally complements the word *compass*, whose potential suggestions of circularity are outweighed by its explicit meaning here: “to achieve (an end or object aimed at)” (OED cites this line from Shakespeare as an example). Notice, finally, as further incidental linkage between this and the preceding line, the rhyme-like opposition of *mellow* (soft) and *hard*, the logic of which means to suggest that Viola's immediate wishes will be difficult to satisfy.

In line 45, the Captain's reason for believing that *serv[ing] that lady* may be *hard to compass*,/ *Because she will admit no kind of suit*, presupposes a rather surprising familiarity on his part with what one might assume to be Olivia's private affairs. Orsino himself has only just learned that Valentine, whom he has sent to woo Olivia for him, *might not be admitted* into her presence; that the Captain himself now repeats what we have already been led to suspect—and himself echoes (in *admit*) the language of the gentleman who first delivers this news—works to move the plot forward by moving it back. At the same time, by informing Viola of Olivia's will to *admit no kind of suit* (not even, he implies, Viola's), the Captain also leads us to expect that Viola's

kind of suit, in whatever form it might take (say, for instance, dressed as Cesario), may prove an exception to the rule.

The double negative that opens line 46, *No, not the Duke's*, intensifies Olivia's apparent resolve to isolate herself from the world around her. *No* in this line repeats the sound (but not the sense) of *no* in the previous line's *no kind of suit*, a phrase that is itself echoed logically and phonetically in the word *Duke's*, whose *kind of suit* is among those Olivia refuses to *admit*.

The metrically-dictated silence that follows the final four-syllable line of the Captain's speech, *No, not the Duke's*, effectively divides the scene into two unequal "halves," what precedes it working primarily to establish context and what follows to set the play's action in motion. Viola's response to the Captain, in what turns out to be the scene's longest speech, begins in line 47 by paying direct attention to the person she has been speaking and listening to throughout the scene: *There is a fair behavior in thee, captain*. In context of a scene in which every speech so far functions as a logical response to the speech before it, the absence of apparent connection between the Captain's account of Olivia's unwillingness to receive visitors and Viola's sudden notice of the Captain's *fair behavior*—a compliment as unexpected as it is apparently unprovoked—itself sounds like something of a "suit" aimed at bringing about some as yet undisclosed end. Since that is in fact the case, as the rest of Viola's elaborate speech will make clear, we learn in retrospect that the six syllables worth of silence that concluded the Captain's metrically foreshortened last line created the space in which Viola's thinking conceived of the plan she has begun to lay out here.

The subordinate clause that begins in line 48, *And though that nature with a beauteous wall*, is linked to what precedes it in several ways at once. Phonetically, the conjunction *And* which eventually proves to join the two parts of the compound sentence (*There is.../ And.../ I will believe*)—but which sounds at least momentarily as if it may connect the preceding line's object with other objects still to come—elongates the vowel-plus-*n* sound in the second syllable of *Captain*. Similarly, the long *a*-plus-vowel-*r* sound in *behavior* is replayed in *nature*, whose vowel-plus-*r* pattern itself echoes the complex of like sounds that knits together the first half of line 47: *There...fair behavior*. Logically, the idea of external appearance conveyed by *beauteous wall* echoes that same idea conveyed in *fair behavior*, the abstractness of whose noun (which earns glosses in the Pelican, Arden and Riverside editions) is grounded in the concreteness of *wall*, connoting here not part of a building but a person's outward features.

The opposition between exterior and interior continues into line 49, *Doth oft close in pollution, yet in thee*, whose focus on what is *close[d]* in reverses the previous line's focus on the *wall* that does the enclosing. The word *pollution* rhymes with the word *beauteous*—phonetic twins, grammatical counterparts, diametrically opposed in the logic of aesthetics that Viola's speech is built upon—and echoes backward and forward through the whole of a play permeated with images of contamination and disease.

The adverbial phrase begun and left hanging at the end of line 49 leads in line 50 to the expected but still missing second stage of the compound sentence first signaled by *And* in line 48: *I will believe thou hast a mind that suits*. Even though the idea of a clearly internal *mind* continues the idea of *close[d]* in *pollution*, the syntactic construction of a speech punctuated by *though* and *yet* lets us know, even before saying so, that the Captain's *mind* is not, like other things hidden by beautiful exteriors, defiled. At the same time, the interiority implicit in the word *mind* begins to be externalized as the line continues—a *mind that suits*—where the multiple meanings of the word *suits*—momentarily a noun, which could be the subject of a relative clause begun with *that*, as well as the verb it eventually proves to be—suggests a variety of outward things (clothing, armor, etc.), as in Viola's line at 5.1.226 in reference to her brother Sebastian's clothing, *So went he suited to his watery grave*. As both noun and verb, the word *suits* also repeats *suit* in the same metrical position of line 45, its exclusively nominal meaning there—a petition or wooing—momentarily as pertinent here as the meaning that will emerge: to agree or be consonant with (OED cites *As You Like It* 2.7.81: "He...That...therein suites His folly to the mettle of my speech" and *Hamlet* 3.2.19: "Sute the Action to the Word, the Word to the Action").

What follows *that suits* in line 51, *With this thy fair and outward character*, completes the sentence Viola has been spinning with echoes that resound multiple strands in this and previous speeches. To begin with, *this* participates in a four-word sequence (*that suits/ With this*) counterpointing one pronoun against the other—a kind of grammatical first cousin—through which *this* plays off various occurrences of *that* in lines 48, 44, 41, 37 and 34. What follows *With this*, *Thy fair and outward character*, redefines *this* in terms that double what has already been spoken in other words, expanding the idea of external beauty conveyed both in *fair behavior* (whose adjective it repeats) and in *beauteous wall* (whose preceding *with this* *With* also repeats). The Captain's *character*, meaning here his *outside* (looks or features)

behavior, stands metonymically for what is inside—what can't be seen because it isn't physical—his moral "character" (OED cites these two lines as example).

The beginning of Viola's next sentence in line 52, *I prithee (and I'll pay thee bounteously)*, leans forward only long enough to get started, at which point it circles back (in parenthesis) to rephrase what it has only just now commenced. *I'll pay thee* expands the sound and concept of *I prithee* (itself a shortened form of "pray thee"), turning its request into a promise for recompense if the request—for what?—is granted. In offering the Captain money, Viola repeats her gesture of line 18 (*For saying so, there's gold*), except that there Viola's payment follows the Captain's delivery of verbal goods whereas here those goods, if they are verbal, haven't yet been named; the former instance thus presents an economy in which performance precedes reward, the latter one in which payment is promised (as incentive) *before* the completion of whatever it means to pay for. The word *bounteously*, suggesting both Viola's largess and her wealth (one measure of her former *estate*, and linked oppositionally to ideas implicit in, though extraneous to, *my poor brother*), echoes something of the logic and some of the sound of *beauteous*, and not incidentally contains two of the four long *e* sounds that—along with patterns in long *i*, *th*, and *p*—give this line its wealth of phonetic coherence.

Having been delayed (by a parenthesis), Viola's *Conceal me what I am, and be my aid* in line 53 amounts to a proposal that the Captain join her in a conspiracy, one whose form if not substance will be echoed later in the play in Maria's plan to ghostwrite a letter in Olivia's hand, the identity of whose true author—the *me* that is *what I am*—is in this case Viola's true *character*, the inside that can't be seen because it will be hidden by a suit of male clothes. Were that interior *what I am*—which echoes Viola's question about Olivia in line 35, *What's she?*—hidden by the female clothing that suits it, it still would not be seen: what Viola "is," her sexual identity, has in fact already been concealed on Shakespeare's stage by the female clothing the male actor wears; it will continue to be concealed until the play's last scene, where, claiming the sex opposite to the one she appears to proclaim, she reveals her true identity verbally though not physically—that physical disclosure scheduled to be performed only after the play has ended, when she promises to reappear in her female clothes which, we assume, she will later remove before joining Orsino in bed.

Line 54, which follows the second of Viola's two requests, *be my aid/ For such disguise as haply shall become*, reconstructs the logic of

transformation in terms that begin to spell out how it might be accomplished—how Viola's *me*, which has already become *what I am*, might be *concealed*. The idea of *concealment* by means of *disguise* is performed phonetically in the chiasmus by which the *com/n*-plus-long *e* sounds of *conceal* are reversed in the long *e*-plus-*com/n* sounds of *become*, whose sense suggests the act of transformation set in motion by *disguise*. At the same time, the ambivalence of *disguise*—not only a noun but, momentarily, the third in a series of imperatives begun with its logical and grammatical twin, *conceal*, a sense that makes *such* function as a pronoun referring to the act of *conceal[ing] me*—imagines grammatically the dynamics by which one's interior identity can be changed by a change of external appearance. From its two-part title onward, *Twelfth Night, or What You Will* is indeed full of such doubling: of the twins Viola and Sebastian who look alike but are different; of characters who, by means of *such disguise*, exchange one *outward character* for another (Viola/Cesario, Malvolio as steward/courtly lover, Feste/Sir Topas); of Maria's handwriting (its characters) which presents itself as Olivia's; of words themselves that shift and slip and won't hold still, words that *haply shall become* other words as if by chance, making a world in which *Illyria* becomes *Elysium* and where, as Feste later says, *nothing that is so is so*.

Momentarily possible at the end of line 54, the sense of *become* as an intransitive verb ("*such disguise* as shall come about") is exploded by what happens in line 55: *The form of my intent. I'll serve this Duke*. The presence of the object *form*, which retroactively makes *become* transitive, causes its meaning to shift—demonstrating in effect the process by which one identity can "become" another—from a logic of completed action to a pair of complexly similar yet different logics, both of which echo elements already central to the passage: "*such disguise* as shall be appropriate to (i.e. "suit") *the form of my intent*;" "*such disguise* as shall be equal to (i.e. be "made"/"maid" into) *the form of my intent*." *The form* thus operates in two separate but simultaneous systems of meaning, both as the external physical feature (the *disguise* itself) whose *outward character* will hide *what I am*, and as the interior scheme or thought (the *intent*) whose strategy involves the use of *disguise*. In either case, Viola's *intent* (*I'll serve this Duke*) suggests, in its rhyme-like reversal of her previous intent (*O that I served that lady*), how unstable she is, how shifting her mind, and thus how like both of the Illyrians she would serve—both Olivia, who is willing to marry either her or her brother, and Orsino, whom Feste would dress in a *doublet of changeable taffeta, for thy mind is very opal*

(2.4.73-74). Notice that of the fifty-six potential meanings of *serve* listed in the OED, the sexual sense (“to gratify, furnish means for satisfying desire,” for which OED cites *Lear* 3.4.89: “A Seruingman...that seru’d the Lust of my Mistris heart”) is particularly pertinent here: after having served him as the man Cesario, Viola will ultimately serve Orsino as a woman—as his *mistress and his fancy’s queen* (5.1.377); at the same time, as Cesario, she becomes the man Olivia most wants to be serviced by, “her” signature on Maria’s letter to Malvolio notwithstanding (*She that would alter services with thee* [2.5.145]).

Reflecting her growing confidence in the play she now constructs, the rhetoric of Viola’s speech shifts from vulnerable request (*I prithee...be my aid*) to assertive command in line 56: *Thou shalt present me as an eunuch to him*. The imperative force of *Thou shalt present*, whose verb’s potential function as the future tense of *present* links it in series with the verb of the preceding sentence (*‘ll serve*), counteracts the generic assumption that eunuchs, as castrated males, are more like women than men—and thus are neither forceful nor assertive. The meaning of *present* in this context, not only to offer to sight or observation (OED cites *Tempest* 5.1.85: “I will discase me, and my selfe present As I was sometime Millaine”) opposes it to *intent* in the previous line, whose sound it echoes, the logic of which suggests interior purpose or design, things that cannot be seen in themselves, only in their effects. The visible effect of Viola’s hidden *intent*—her *disguise...form...as an eunuch*—acts retroactively to define what it is that must be concealed strictly in terms of its gender: Viola’s *me what I am* thus becomes her sexual identity, the female body which *disguised* and *presented* will appear to have what she herself will later call *A little thing* [that] *would make me tell them how much I lack of a man* (3.4.82-83).

The value of the economic incentive that Viola has already promised the Captain for his *aid/ For such disguise (I’ll pay thee bounteously)* appears to diminish in the first half of line 57, where the subjunctive mood of the verb implies both that *It may* and *may* [not] *be worth thy pains*. *For I can sing* seems at this point to present the reason Viola has said what she has just said, as if somehow to justify the price she is prepared to pay the Captain for his help, or to play down the trouble (and what sounds like the physical suffering) he may experience if he decides to help, or both. In so far as Viola’s assertion of her ability to sing also looks backward beyond *It may be worth thy pains*, whose apparent uncertainty it casually works to reverse, to the

characteristic ability of eunuchs to sing at a higher pitch than ordinary men, it also effectively erases (by ignoring, as she herself will forget) her pledge, no matter how tentative, to pay the Captain for his help.

The placement of the comma after *sing*, which increases the duration of the pause between line 57 and line 58, *And speak to him in many sorts of music*, in which the verb *speak*—conceptually and grammatically (by means of the conjunction *And*) linked to *sing*—coupled with *music* assumes for itself a portion of the meaning already pertinent to *sing*. Before we hear the word *music*, however, *speak to him in many sorts of* appears to be following Viola's thought as it makes its way toward some still to be completed idea having to do with speaking (*many sorts of* language, for instance, as Sir Toby will later boast that Andrew *speaks three or four languages word for word* [1.3.24]); the sound of *music*, literally and substantively, not only echoes the sound of the *eunuch* who will make it but derails the logic of the line we thought we were hearing, forcing it to circle back upon itself to the sound of *singing* whose *music* she has claimed as hers. Locating in effect the range of Viola's vocal cords, finally, the word *music* completes a series of complexly related terms according to which Viola, the Captain and Orsino are paired together in ways that not only give Viola access to the man she will eventually be paired with in marriage but make her into the music-making instrument her name implies she is: *Thou shalt present me...to him; I can...speak to him...music*.

Although an audience never hears any of the *many sorts of music* Viola announces she can *speak*—at no point during the play does she sing a song or play an instrument—we do in fact hear the “music” she and every character speaks throughout *Twelfth Night*, a music of words and parts of words connected to one another by sound (echo) in a network of music-like relationships, more often than not completely incidental, such as the ones heard (or not heard) in line 59, *That will allow me very worth his service*, where *very worth* echoes the sounds of *many sorts* in the same metrical position of the previous line; where *worth* itself duplicates the sound (but not sense) of *worth* in line 57; where *allow* continues a pattern in the *ou* diphthong of *Thou* (56), *bounteously* (52) and *outward* (51); and where *service* replays, with significant variation, the sound as well as sense of *serve* (55) and *serve* (41). With the microtonal elements that compose its sound working to establish its phonetic coherence as a line—*th* in *That* and *worth*, *l* in *will allow*, *w* in *will* and *worth*, *s* in *his service*, long *e* in *me very*, vowel-plus-*r* in *very worth* and *service*—this conclusion of Viola's

sentence also works to persuade us that it makes not only musical but substantive sense. In fact it does not make sense, as the notes on this line in every modern edition of *Twelfth Night* attest; that is to say, we are led to believe that we understand the words *That will allow me very worth his service* because those words sound good together—sound as if they can be understood. Editors who gloss *allow* as “prove” (Arden) or “cause me to be considered” (Pelican), or the whole line as “cause me to be acknowledged as worthy to serve him” (Riverside), are responding to the line’s apparent lack of meaning, a substantive incoherence that paraphrase attempts to bridge as the gap between what the words seem to be saying and what they do say: namely, the fact that *I can sing and/or speak...music...will allow me...his service*. Used reflexively, as here, *allow* means “permit me to indulge in” (OED cites *Lear* 3.7.107: “His roguish madness Allows itself to anything”), which suggests not only that Viola, whose ability to make music makes her worthy, will serve Orsino but that she, who is herself worth serving, will be serviced by him. Both members of the relationship perform twin functions—each one a master and each a servant, each a provider of services (in all senses) rendered and each a receiver.

Having imagined (out loud) what her potential future relationship with Orsino might be like, line 60 follows Viola’s thinking back to the present moment, where her anxiety about the future and inability to determine it any further lead her toward what amounts to a kind of passive resignation: *What else may hap, to time I will commit*. Completing another instance of the casual pattern in which *That* and *What* alternate as the first words of successive lines—a pattern that has already appeared, with variation of the demonstrative pronoun *This* for *That*, in the first three lines of the scene (*What...This...And what*), in lines 33-35 (*What...That...What*), and in the two half-lines that make up line 44 (*What...That*)—*What* at the start of this line links it to *That* at the start of the previous line; Viola’s confident mapping out of a future time in one line thus gives way here to her turning *What else may hap* in the future over to time—as she does at the end of 2.2. when she says, *O Time, thou must untangle this, not I; It is too hard a knot for me t’ untie*. The relationship between Viola and time here—as agents linked both by their ability to determine the future and to be determined by it, as the substance of the line implies that Viola will be, and as the first six syllables of the line momentarily imply that time will be: *What else may hap to time*—thus echoes Viola’s outline of the simultaneously reciprocal and hierarchical relationship (in terms of *service*) between herself and Orsino: in one case the person has the

power to make things happen, in the other things happen (to that person) by chance. At the same time, the idea of chance or fortune (good or bad) implicit in *hap* (OED cites *The Taming of the Shrew* 4.4.107: “Hap what hap may, Ile roundly goe about her”) followed by *to time*—a sense pertinent as well to *haply* followed by *shall become* in line 54, which is itself preceded by a *what* in line 53—echoes the idea and sound of *perchance* (“perhaps”) in line 7 and *chance* itself in line 8; but whereas in that case *chance* is represented as the Captain’s story about seeing her brother at sea, a story that means *to comfort* Viola’s anxiety over her brother’s fate (in the past), *chance* is represented here as *What else may hap* to Viola herself (in the future), whose anxiety over her own fate leads her to find whatever comfort she can by placing her trust in—and committing herself *to*—*time*. Time indeed, from the first two words of its title to the last word of Feste’s song at the end (*day*), is what drives *Twelfth Night* to be the play that it is, a play in which every word is in motion so to speak in time, the past (and future) literally sounded in a continuously present moment whose surface is the sound of words sounding themselves.

Turning her attention once again to the Captain, line 61 concludes what has become the scene’s longest speech by demanding in effect an end to speaking: *Only shape thou thy silence to my wit*. What Viola here calls *wit* not only names but determines the value and source (her own intelligence) of the play she has just proposed, a plan that begins by asking the Captain to *conceal* her and ends with the *silence* she would have him *shape*. As if to counter its call for silence, the line’s sounds cause it to participate in a number of remarkable—and remarkably inaudible—patterns: the sound of *wit* links it to the sound of *commit* in the preceding line, completing a rhyme couplet that is itself linked to similar short *i* sounds in *service* and *music* at the end of the two previous lines, making the end of the speech into a kind of A’A’AA rhyming quatrain; the successive long *i* sounds in *thy silence* repeat a similar pattern in *time I* in the middle of the preceding line; and the sound of *sh-plus-thou* in *shape thou* reverses the order of the same sounds in *Thou shalt* in line 56. Notice also the complex permutation by which Viola’s act of *speak[ing] to him* becomes here the Captain’s act of *shap[ing]...silence* not only to *my wit* but, by implication, *to him*. Paradoxically, to *shape...silence* in this context implies that the Captain both will and will not speak: whatever he says to Orsino will be motivated by his part in a conspiracy whose purpose is to make Orsino believe that Viola is *an eunuch*; what he will not say—will keep silent about—is the truth of what and what she really is.

The Captain's witty response in line 62 to Viola's call for *silence shape[d] to my wit* registers how quickly he has caught on to her plan, and how willing he is to play his part in it: *Be you his eunuch, and your mute I'll be*. The ostentatiously artful symmetry of sound and logic—long *u* in *you, eunuch* and *mute*; *Be you* paired chiastically against *I'll be*; *his eunuch* opposed to, and simultaneously made possible by, *your mute*—works not only to convey the Captain's ability to think on his feet (judging from this line, he will prove to be a good accomplice) but to set up the end of the scene: resonating like a coda in music, the words we hear the Captain say at this point let us know he is about to stop speaking. As it turns out, the Captain does take on the *shape of silence*, in that after this scene he literally disappears from the play. (Viola speaks of him twice in the last scene—*I'll bring you to a captain in this town./ Where lie my maiden weeds* (246-47); *The captain that did bring me first on shore/ Hath my maid's garments* (266-67)—but we do not actually see him again, unless, and I am speculating now, the actor who plays the Captain were also to play the part of Antonio—himself a sea captain, himself a companion and accomplice to Viola's own double, Sebastian.) At the same time, the Captain's literal *silence* from this point onward not only performs the part he has promised to play here—*your mute I'll be*—but, as a kind of counter-performance, echoes the absence of any sign, either from Viola or from the characters she meets, that she plays the *eunuch* the Captain says she will be.

The Captain having taken what amounts to a vow of silence in *your mute I'll be*, line 63 immediately appears to promise that he will break that promise—and gladly be punished for it: *When my tongue blabs, then let mine eyes not see*. That is to say, the force of the adverbial *When* clause by itself implies that the real question for Viola is not whether he will talk but how soon; at the same time, the *When/then* construction clearly means to assert that he will not reveal her secret (OED cites this line as an example of *blab*)—the threat of blindness acting as a form of deterrent against his saying what he has vowed not to say. The rhyme couplet completed by *see* thus constructs a complex relationship between not only sound and silence and sight and blindness but master and servant as well; as long as the Captain serves Viola as *your mute*, he will be able to see; as soon as he betrays her authority by speaking, he will not see. Framed in terms of the politics of gender, Viola's false identity as a man will be maintained only if the Captain submits to her command by remaining silent; asserting himself *When his tongue blabs*, her female identity (and

consequent vulnerability) will be exposed. And though such speculation may indeed be moot, since this line is the Captain's last in the play—his physical presence literally erased after this scene, it is curious to note that his absence is filled by another character (Malvolio) whose *tongue blabs* and whose *eyes*, when he is locked away in what he calls *hideous darkness*, do not see.

His couplet having sounded, finally, like the end of the scene—we hear closure not only in the *be/see* rhyme pair, which extends a series of couplets in lines 58-59 (*music/service*) and 60-61 (*commit/wit*), but in the phonetic and logical coherences within the line of short *e* sounds (*When...then let*) and long *i* sounds (*my...mine eyes*)—the Captain listens to Viola's last line, *I thank thee. Lead me on*. Coupled to the preceding line by a two-syllable chiastic rhyming of long *e* and schwa-plus-*n* sounds in *me on* and *not see*, it is actually a half-line composed of two sentences that are themselves linked together logically and phonetically, the long *e* sounds in *thee. Lead me* coupling the two characters across the break after the period in an action that propels them off stage—the soon to be male *eunuch* commanding her *mute* to go forward into the metrically-dictated silence at the end of the line, a *silence* in whose space (or *shape*) one person can literally *lead* the other (his master/mistress) out of the scene.

The reader who has been patient enough to follow my reading of this scene could, as I could, continue reading *Twelfth Night*, discovering more of what it is that I have tried to describe here: that the words of the play in interaction with one another set off charges of meaning whose resonance back and forth across the surface of the text constructs a work that is, as Pound would say, “charged with meaning to the utmost possible degree”; that the play's meaning, private in that it doesn't obviously declare itself but is rather embedded in (above and below) the landscape of language itself, takes place continuously throughout the play; that the play's twins, Viola and Sebastian, are represented literally (from moment to moment) at almost every point—in the doubling of *me* with *what I am* in line 53, for instance, to return to my beginning, two identities that both are and are not the same. *Twelfth Night*, a play that begins with separations and ends with (re)unions (brother with sister, man with wife), is a play *about* doubling and echoes, a play whose language is charged throughout with the dynamics of attraction and opposition, unity and division, among a multitude of linguistic “twins” whose effect is to perform (*in words*) the play its players (actors *and* words) perform.

NOTES

All references are to *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, ed. Alfred Harbage (New York, 1977).

¹C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* (Princeton, 1959), p.245; Coppélia Kahn, "The Providential Tempest and the Shakespearean Family," *Representing Shakespeare* (Baltimore, 1980), p. 218.

²Readers have speculated about the presence and significance of the name Orsino in this play since 1896, when G. Sarrazin first connected *Twelfth Night* to Don Virginio Orsino, Duke of Bracciano, a 28-year old nobleman described in one contemporary account as "a very courtlike and compleat gentleman" who visited Elizabeth's court in early 1601. Leslie Hotson's *The First Night of Twelfth Night* (1954) makes that visit the cornerstone of his theory that the play was first performed before Elizabeth and Orsino on 6 January 1601. While there is clear evidence that a play was performed at court on that night (Orsino, in a letter to his wife, describes "a mingled comedy, with pieces of music and dances [*una commedia mescolata, con musiche e balli*]" [Hotson, p.202] and Lord Hunsdon, the patron of Shakespeare's company, writes a memo calling for a play "that may be more pleasing to her majestie" [Hotson, p. 180-181]), most scholars believe that the play was written somewhat later, probably toward the end of 1601. It is hard to imagine, for one thing, that the portrayal of Orsino would have been pleasing to the Queen or to her guest of honor. See J. M. Lothian and T. W. Craik's "Introduction" to the Arden edition, pp. xxvi-xxxv, for a full account of the problems of dating.

³Hammer's emendation of the line, adopted by the Arden and Riverside editions, exchanges *company* for *sight* in line 40 and vice versa, which regularizes the meter in both lines 40 and 41 and "intensifies Olivia's seclusion" (Arden note).

THE MALE THREAT IN *BELOVED*

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One element that comprises a Gothic novel according to Sybil Korff Vincent is “persecuting/protecting males...reflecting the ambivalent position which males occupy in relation to females” (153-156). It is her opinion that the definitive factor for designation as a Gothic novel is “a literary representation of our innermost fears” (Vincent 155). Molly Hite echoes this sentiment when she observes that “the potentiality of men to be murderers as well as rescuers of dependent women is inscribed in the culture, as well as in the fictions the culture produces (151). Although less pronounced, Claire Kahane in *The (M)Other Tongue* alludes to this dichotomy when she states that “...the female Gothic depends as much on longing and desire as on fear and antagonism” (342). This paper explores how these abusive and supportive male roles are portrayed by some of the key male figures in Toni Morrison’s Gothic novel, *Beloved*.

That man performs the dual role of tormenter/rescuer is exemplified in Morrison’s *Beloved* in large part due to its setting during and immediately following the period of American slavery. The arrival of Paul D Garner at Baby Suggs’ house at 124 Bluestone evokes a chain of flashbacks and events experienced by the book’s main characters that initially polarizes and ultimately unites them through its healing. Two of the book’s most prominent male characters, Paul D and Stamp Paid, function in both roles at different times. However, the definition resides with the definer as *Beloved* shows. Schoolteacher is the sole persecuting male whose behavior is consistently abusive.

In their first moments together after an eighteen year separation, Paul D asks Sethe about the baby she was carrying when they last met before her escape from their former master. He is incredulous to learn that she delivered the baby alone, musing silently that “he was proud of her and annoyed by her. Proud she had done it; annoyed that she had not needed” neither her husband (Halle) or him in the “doing” (Morrison 8). This reveals his own ambivalence about his identity. On one hand he wants to give her support, but her self-sufficiency irritates him. Once her availability and their attraction to each other is clearly established, Sethe invites Paul to “scramble” (e.g., move in) with her and her daughter (Denver).

Denver is immediately threatened by Paul D’s presence. Prior to his appearance, she had her mother’s full attention after her two brothers’ departure and her baby sister’s death. She tries to dissuade

Paul from staying by warning him about the “spiteful” spirit (her baby sister) who resides with them. Mother and daughter have opposing perceptions in relation to Paul D’s affect on 124 Bluestone. While Denver blames Paul for “getting rid of the only other company she had” (Morrison 19), Sethe credits him (as a man) for that same act of exorcism and for taking “its place for himself” (Morrison 104). The daughter perceives him as a threat and the mother sees him as her savior.

Sethe recognizes that Paul’s presence in her life in addition to giving her “something she wanted to count on but was scared to” also added “new pictures and old rememories that broke her heart” (95). Some of these “rememories” are painful in that they deal with Sethe and Paul D’s experiences while they were slaves at Sweet Home and they belonged to the Garners. Mr. Garner’s treatment of his slaves was quite unconventional. He believed in allowing them more freedom than was customary, which may have actually put their lives in greater jeopardy. While he appeared to have been the slaves’ savior he could also be considered their executioner. He was fixated with calling his men “men” (rather than “boy” as was the practice) and would take umbrage with anyone who challenged his definition.

After Mr. Garner’s untimely death, Mrs. Garner (whose health is failing) asks schoolteacher—a fascist-styled ‘educator’ to administer the activities at Sweet Home. It is under schoolteacher’s direction that the three Pauls (Paul D, Paul F and Paul A Garner), Sixo and Halle Suggs (Baby Suggs’ son) and Sethe are subjected to suffering and, in at least one case, murder. Schoolteacher even manages to use language which “falls under the sign of the father” (Wolstenholme xi) as an instrument of torture when he directs his pupils to catalogue Sethe’s “characteristics.” He beats Sixo “to show him that definitions belonged to the definers—not the defined” (Morrison 190). And it is under schoolteacher’s tutelage that Sethe’s milk is taken (while she is nursing her baby) and her back is permanently scarred.

Soon after Paul D establishes himself in Sethe’s house, the three of them encounter a wandering, soaked and ailing young woman (Beloved) for whom Sethe and Denver show an affinity. They nurse her back to health. Beloved’s love of Sethe becomes so obsessive that she perceives Paul’s relationship with Sethe as a threat to her. She expresses this sentiment after Paul D and Sethe have an argument that sends Sethe to the woods. Beloved accuses him of keeping “her hidden at night behind doors” (101). Not being content with sharing Sethe, Beloved embarks on behavior designed to motivate his departure from 124 Bluestone. She successfully moves Paul D out of the house, one

room at a time despite his realization that he is being "prevented" from being there. Finally, she seduces him repeatedly until he becomes desperately ashamed of his weakness.

Paul D longs to share his secret with Sethe and ask for her help but "the danger was in losing Sethe because he is not man enough to break out, so he needed her...to know about it, and it shamed him to have to ask the woman he wanted to protect to help him do it..." (Morrison 127). His good intention goes awry and he settles for a way to manipulate the situation in such a way as "to hold on to her, document his manhood and break out of the girl's spell—all in one" (Morrison 128). As a reader I can almost touch Paul D's discomfort and disappointment in himself. He is trying to function in the role of the protector, but instead feels he must guard himself and, therefore, becomes her abuser.

The vacillation between protector and persecutor is also seen in Morrison's self-righteous character, Stamp Paid. He is described as a "sly, steely old black man: agent, fisherman, boatman, tracker, savior, spy" (Morrison 136). He functions as the community's conscience and, in addition to providing them with his assistance, has personally escorted many of the slaves from oppression into freedom crossing the Ohio River. He has also helped practically all of the people in the community. It is said that "once Stamp Paid brought you a coat, got the message to you, saved your life or fixed the cistern he took the liberty of walking in your door as though it were his own" (Morrison 172). He is the guardian of one of Sethe's most horrible "rememories" as witness to the events that he has named "The Misery." For most of the story, Stamp Paid uses his knowledge of this event to stigmatize Sethe, perhaps as a defense to avert the community's attention away from his own crimes, first of giving his wife to his master and then, breaking her neck when she returned. He exhibits another cruel use of language (the father tongue) when he decides to reveal the newspaper clipping to Paul D about Sethe's murdering her infant daughter when schoolteacher, his nephew, the slavecatcher and the sheriff attempted to take her and her family from 124 Bluestone back to Mrs. Garner's.

After confronting Sethe about the murder, Paul D leaves her house and "scrambles" in the church basement. Feeling guilty for having caused Paul D to flee Sethe, Stamp Paid visits him and shares his own shameful story of murdering his wife Vashti. Reversing his former intransigence toward Sethe's act, he supports her by telling Paul D that she was not crazy when she murdered her baby, that she was trying to "outhurt the hurtier." When Paul D confides in Stamp that he is afraid of *Beloved* ("that girl"), Stamp then deduces that it was really her

presence that forced him to leave. Ultimately, Stamp and Paul D are able to become supportive of Sethe. Stamp motivates the community to help her and Paul D returns to nurse her back to health.

Denver, having wrestled with her own ambivalence regarding her relationship with her mother and Beloved, shows by example that her own interpretation of man's language may be persecutory or supportive. Her attendance at Lady Jones' where she learns how to read and write is terminated by Nelson Lord's innocent question about her mother because "certain odd and terrifying feelings about her mother were collecting around the thing that leapt up inside her" (Morrison 102). It is her own perception of Nelson's motivation for asking the question that causes Denver to stop listening. Yet when she matures and realizes she needs help with her mother, it is Nelson Lord's greeting to "take care of herself" that "opened her mind" (Morrison 252).

It is not surprising that a female Gothic novel would, of necessity, contain males who function as persecutors or saviors because they mirror the female's ambivalence about herself. As Fleenor succinctly observes, "the Gothic is a form created by dichotomies and the subsequent tensions caused by the dialectic between the patriarchal society, the woman's role, and the contradictions and limitations inherent in both" (15-16).

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**“I WOL THEE TELLE AL PLAT”:
POETIC INFLUENCE AND CHAUCER’S PARDONER**

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...a poet’s stance, his word, his imaginative identity, his whole being, *must* be unique to him, and remain unique, or he will perish, as a poet... (Bloom 71).

Twentieth century critical discourse concerning Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* often appropriates the heuristics of Freudian psychoanalysis as a means of determining the motivations and character of both the fictional pilgrims and of Chaucer himself. G. L. Kittredge’s *Atlantic Monthly* essay “Chaucer’s Pardoner” breaks new ground in 1893 as the first attempt to delimit the Pardoner’s quirky actions and innuendos by pseudo-psychological discourse, and still remains in many minds the traditionally accepted and final word on the Pardoner’s behavior.

Kittredge claims that the Pardoner experiences a “momentary return to sincerity...accompanied by profound emotion,” two separate psychosomatic responses both provoked by a newfound need for inclusion and acceptance. Obviously, however, this “most abandoned character among the Canterbury Pilgrims” demands a more clinical, scientific, psychological and literary interpretation than Professor Kittredge posited. In the past one hundred years, he has.

However true Kittredge’s statements may be, the Pardoner attempts a much more intricate and conscious relinquishing of his “lost soul” status, both among his immediate audience and in his own mind, and an establishment of a more appealing persona for himself, for his precedence among this group of pilgrims, and for any other congregation he may meet in the future.

Donald W. Fritz recently pursued a Jungian analysis of the Pardoner, explaining that he suffers a *puer aeternus* phenomenon, i.e. he is psychologically prevented in youth from successfully uniting with the

senex...achieving a realistic perspective on his
...specialness and] continues to nourish fantasies of
omnipotence and grandiosity (338).

Fritz’s thesis certainly carries Kittredge’s heuristic into a twentieth century discursive construct, but he too ignores the Pardoner’s

consciousness of his evil nature—that all of his actions, speakings, and motivations find their aegis in his growing knowledge of a need for psychic divestment. And Derek Pearsall's comment that the Pardoner

...never once says 'I think' or 'I feel,' but only describes what he has done or what he will do, without soul, feeling, or inner being, he is a creature of naked will, unaware of his existence but in the act of will (361)

likewise misses the mark.

I believe the Pardoner is a penitent, yet a man whose self-perception has become so distorted he constantly fights to control it. Specifically, he is a member of the clergy who, straining under the subconscious influence of his secular and Biblical textual learning, his "precursors," perverts his role as a clergyman. In other words, the Pardoner's psyche rebels from the "Father" figure of God, relinquishes the role of priest, and adopts instead the identity of poet. His great rhetorical prowess is manipulated to achieve the exact opposite of what his role in the Church dictates. As Harold Bloom states, "Anxiety [of influence]...is unpleasure accompanied by efferent or discharge phenomenon among definite pathways" (57).

Throughout our observation of the Pardoner, we witness his growing consciousness of this incredible burden of influence over him that the Biblical Father maintains. The Pardoner gradually realizes his anxiety-laden ego through his interaction with the other characters and an intense self-analysis, and then attempts to change his behavior through confession. As we watch the Pardoner, and then listen not only to what he says but how he says it, an increasingly motivated desire to confess his past sins, repent, and move back under the inclusive blanket of the true Church emerges. Freud claims that society itself is a major influence in the shaping and reshaping of the ego, and further states that psychoanalysis requires an atmosphere where, "The patient is encouraged to transfer...the authority of his superego to the analyst" (*An Outline of Psychoanalysis* 37).

All these pilgrims, except the Ploughman and Parson, are city-bred and therefore immune to his usual ease in fleecing them, asserting their knowledge of his deceitful rhetoric even before any opportunity for it arises: "Nay, lat hym telle us of no ribaudye!" ("Prologue" l. 324). What the Pardoner enacts mirrors the traditional Freudian practice of analysis and therapist relations:

The analytic physician and the patient's weakened ego, basing themselves on the real external world, have to band themselves together into a party against the enemies, the instinctual demands of the id and the conscientious demands of the super-ego. We form a pact with each other. The sick ego promises us the most complete candor—promises, that is, to put at our disposal all the material which its self-perception yields it (*Psychoanalysis* 30).

In the words of Robin Kirkpatrick, the Pardoner "insists that his audience should pay attention to his actual self" (222). He pairs himself with the disgusting Summoner, interrupts the Wife of Bath's "Prologue," and finally confronts the Host, each time with increasing clarity of language, revealing himself in a confessional stance.

Starting with the *General Prologue* we meet the Pardoner, drunkenly singing along with an equally drunk Summoner. Their song—"Com hider, love, to me!"—along with the Pardoner's less than respectable choice of riding/drinking/singing partner is the first sign of his overwhelmed creative impulse and also a hint at his repentant stance. Their song is a direct parallel to *Pearl's*

Cum hyder to me, my lemman swete,
For mote ne spot is non in the (l. 763-4),

which has, as Sir I. Gollancz first discovered, its roots in the equally pious *Song of Solomon*:

You are all fair, my love; there is no flaw in you.
Come with me from Lebanon, my bride; come with me
from Lebanon.
Depart from the peak of Amana, from the peak of Senir
and
Hermon, from the dens of lions from the mountains of
leopards (IV; viii).

Obviously, love links these three works. The Pardoner knows this, and as we shall see, he knows love is lacking in his current psychical state. As Freud posits, however, love can at times be overwhelming:

It is that we are never so defenseless against suffering as
when we love, never so helplessly unhappy as when we

have lost our loved object or its love (*Civilization and Its Discontents* 24).

Yet, there is a grating dissimilarity between *Pearl* and the *Song of Solomon*, and the Pardoner's song. In both *Pearl* and the *Song of Solomon*, love is sacred:

[The *Song of Solomon*'s] inclusion in the Old Testament is to be explained from the prophetic figure of the Lord as the 'husband' of his people (Hos. 2; 16-19). In Christian tradition it has been interpreted as an allegory of the love of Christ for his bride, the church (Rev. 21; 2, 9), or as symbolizing the intimate experience of divine love in the individual soul (*Revised Standard Holy Bible* 815).

Conversely, in the Pardoner's song the emphasis clearly lies on physical, lustful, and possibly extra-marital love. Freud explains this:

The symptoms of neuroses are...without exception a substitutive satisfaction of some sexual urge...Most of the urges of sexual life are not of a purely erotic nature but have arisen from alloys of the erotic instinct with portions of the destructive instinct (*Psychoanalysis* 43).

Bloom posits a complementary literary explanation:

What divides each poet from his Poetic Father...is an instance of creative revisionism...The poet so stations his precursor...that the visionary objects with their higher intensity, fade into the continuum (42).

In other words, the Pardoner's neurosis is two-fold. First, the Pardoner senses a lack of spiritual love; he has through time so far removed himself—via his creative yearnings—from the Church's expectations and succumbed to his self-destructive id impulses that love cannot exist for him outside a physical realm. Of course, this perception places him at odds with the Church family, specifically his spiritual "Father." The Pardoner also experiences a great anxiety of influence from the Biblical sources of his perverted song.

In Bloom's phrasing, the authors of the Bible, by the arbitrary act of canonization into "sacred text," inherit an overwhelming power to shape thoughts and desires, thus causing the young poet, "to lose

himself" in the awing influence (19). This "covering Cherub" is the root of the Pardoner's anxiety. And what Freud means in using the term "substitution" Bloom more accurately call "clinamen:" a need by the "ephebe" to swerve away from the precursor's text and establish both superiority and uniqueness. In other words, "figures of capable imagination appropriate for themselves...Self appropriation involves the immense anxieties of indebtedness" (Bloom 5). The Pardoner echoes Biblical text, yet perverts the sacred meaning almost every time, giving it his own individual stamp.

But the Pardoner not only perverts Biblical text; he also distorts the accepted forms of ecclesiastical practice to suit his own "ful vicious" intentions. The best means of illustrating this point is the Pardoner's sermon and his delivery of it. According to Robinson's research, the typical Medieval sermon consisted of six well defined parts: theme, protheme, dilatation, exemplum, peroration, and closing formula (729). The Pardoner's, however, consists of, at best, four: theme, found in "*Radix malorum est Cupiditas*" (l. 334); exemplum, the "Tale" itself (ll. 463-903); peroration, where the Pardoner implores the audience to repent by giving an offering to him (ll. 904-15); and his closing formula:

And Jhesu Crist, that is oure soules leche,
So graunte yow his pardoun to recyve,
For that is best; I wol yow nat deceyve (ll. 916-8).

Although, as Robert P. Merrix cites, medieval sermonizers never followed the six-part format as rigidly as Robinson opines (236), the problem with the Pardoner's straying from a long established format lies in what he substitutes for what is missing. Instead of a protheme or dilatation, which should follow the theme, the Pardoner launches into a diatribe about himself, lasting some 300 lines:

I stonde lyk a clerk in my pulpet,
And when the lewed peple is doun yset,
I preche so as ye han herd bifoore,
And telle an hundred false japes moore.
Thanne payne I me to strecche forth the nekke,
And est and west upon the peple I bekke,
As dooth a dowve sittynge on a berne (ll. 391-7).

Here he personifies an entertainer rather than priest (Chapman, "Preachers;" 180). More importantly, the Pardoner's sermon illustrates

an attempt to bury tradition and establish himself as the “strong poet.” Medieval rhetoricians, interestingly, were not completely unaware of the impulse for a poet to separate himself from his precursors any more than Bloom. Saint Thomas Aquinas realizes the instinctual drive for individuality and warns:

He who has to preach must make use of both eloquence and secular learning. The use of secular eloquence in Sacred Scripture is in one way commendable and in another reprehensible. It is the latter when one uses it for display or when one aims mainly at eloquence. He who strives mainly for eloquence does not intend that men should admire what he says, but rather tries to gain admiration for himself (as quoted by Harry Caplan; 62).

In order to alleviate this leaning as much as possible, scholars tried to impress the idea that complete submission to the “Sacred Scriptures” proved best:

The Monks of these orders [Dominicans and Franciscans] obeyed literally the words of the Founder of Christianity, and went into all the world and preached the Word to every creature (Chapman, “Medieval Sermon” 507).

In fact the “Founder of Christianity” himself stressed this practice: “Christ did not deign in his preaching to refuse to accept the theme of his *precursor* [God]” (Robert of Basevorn 126; emphasis mine). The tendency witnessed throughout these examples is one of rejection of individual creativity in order for the promulgation of the Church’s teachings: and a foreshadowing of what occurs at the end of the “Pardoner’s Tale.”

Bloom’s theory of the ephebe’s need for individuality stems from Freud’s theory of parent/child relationship, wherein lies the explanation for the two-fold neurosis. The ephebe seeks to vanquish the precursor’s long-standing domain over an idea much like the young son wants to rid himself of his father. The Pardoner’s “Father” here is God, not only in the spiritual sense but in the poetic sense as well. Notice how, once the Pardoner begins his “Prologue,” he immediately speaks of origins:

First I pronounce whennes that I come,
And thanne my bulles shewe I, alle and some (ll. 335-6).

These origins all equate him with Church authority. The Church, obviously, is the Pardoner's origin and, just like a father, is his source of anxiety. For now, this is all the Pardoner is fully aware of, and he understandably attacks it to establish his own identity.

Subconsciously, however, the Pardoner is already grappling with another problem. In his actual sermon, the Pardoner speaks of three men looking for "Deeth," who acts as a "theef", or "appropriator" of life. These men then find a man also seeking death, but in this case for more precise, or to the Pardoner, "wish-fulfilling" reasons:

And on the ground, which is my moodres gate,
I knokke with my staf, both erly and late,
And seye 'Leeve mooder, leet me in! (ll. 729-31).

The Old Man attempts regularly to go back to his creator, to his "origins," thus relinquishing any control or influence over his own life. He acknowledges the earth as his source—mother—and strives to be one with it:

These two different strivings for death are exactly what the Pardoner struggles with throughout. The three young men, through their riotous behavior, drunkenness, and greed also show the same self-destructive impulses that the Pardoner manifests—the repressive resistances that Freud speaks of. The Old Man is the other side of the coin. He is the Pardoner's desire to be rid of the self-destructive tendencies which, if not checked, lead to an eventual and complete destruction of respect for the Church, which also represents the "Father."

If we read further through his self-description, we cite several more Church or Church-related sources. Yet, when comparing a contemporary description of what the Church expected of a priest:

For of such great virtue is preaching that it recalls men
from error to truth, from vices to virtues, raises...hope,
enkindles charity...and fosters the honorable (*A Late
Medieval Tractate on Preaching*, trans. Caplan; 71),

with what the Pardoner tells about his own behavior in the pulpit, we sense a quite different equation:

By this gaude have I wonne, yeer by yeer,
An hundred mark sith I was pardoner (ll. 389-90)
...

I preche so as ye han herd bifoore,
 And telle an hundred false japes moore (ll. 393-4)
 . . .
 For myn entente is nat but for to wynne,
 And nothyng for correccioun of synne
 I rekke nevere, for whan that they been beryed,
 Though that hir soules goon a-blakeberied! (403-6).

These actions, intents, and attitudes illustrate perfectly the anxiety of influence:

By the time [the ephebe] has become a strong poet...he seeks to exorcise the necessary guilt of his ingratitude by turning his precursor into a fouled version of the later poet himself. But that too is a self-deception and a banality, for what the strong poet does is to transform himself into a fouled version of himself, and then confound the consequence with the figure of the precursor (Bloom 62).

The Pardoner's actual tale, or theme, focuses on his ability to love, only this time for things pecuniary. More importantly, we notice the actual extent to which the Pardoner's phrasings rely on Biblical influence, this time in particular from I Timothy vi, 10. Both the song and the sermon topic illustrate examples of Freud's theory of transference through repression (*Psychoanalysis* 38), which often will lead to the "clinamen" spoken of above. The Pardoner is the most Biblically learned member of the group. Yet, true Christianity, or love, lies deeply hidden behind illicit allusions.

Another example is the Pardoner's alliance with the Summoner, culminating in the line: "This Somonour bar to hym a stif burdoun" ("General Prologue" l. 673). P.R. Orton's research shows the word "Burdon" in Middle English also could mean, detractingly, "phallus" (3). Also he ends his own sermon by inviting the women to, "Cometh up, ye wyves, offreth of youre wolle!" ("Pardoner's Tale" l. 910), again showing carnal transference in a perversion of the Christian symbolic relationship between shepherd and sheep.

The most blatant perversion, however, is in the Pardoner's "Prologue": when asked for a tale, he replies, "It shal be doon...by Seint Ronyon!" (l. 320). Not only is the Pardoner fully conscious of his evil bent, but by his audience's reaction: "Nay, lat hym telle us of no ribaudye!" they too possess an equally full knowledge. In fact, his very choice of words reeks of spiritual oblivion: "Ronyon" is

synonymous with "colloins" (Miller 236). This passage also illustrates how the Pardoner can not only pervert Biblical text, but can pervert the Church fathers by creating such lewd names for them and "swerving" from their true intent, creating his own sexual or material misreadings. The Pardoner chooses two alternate thematic hermeneutics over those provided by their sources, the authors of the Bible.

Consciously, the Pardoner seeks to "foul" his precursors' versions of truth, strengthening his own position. Subconsciously, however, he seeks something which calls us back to the idea of origins. As Freud states, the "substitution" that a neurotic discharges often involves a sexual aspect: a product of an anxiety brought on by a parent figure and attributed to a rebellion against it. The Pardoner traces his source of family romance anxiety and poetic anxiety back to the overwhelming influence of the Church, yet he can not shake its hold on him, especially its hold on his rhetorical prowess. Yet, he tries to release himself first by confronting the other pilgrims with his discovery of what the Church has made him and then in the end by becoming silent, eliminating the Church's major tool of manipulation over him. Silence, especially from the Pardoner, looms larger than any rhetoric. It means to him a total surrender, a submission to powers greater than his. As Bloom states, "Poetic influence...is a destruction of desire" (38). And the Pardoner's desire for carnal and material life ends with his sermon.

Let it be noted that the Pardoner quickly abandons all associations with the Summoner. Instead, he moves from the Wife of Bath to Harry Bailey to the Knight, looking for life lessons. What he learns, however, is that he must undertake this transformation alone. With the Wife of Bath, the Pardoner seems to *almost* transform into a sincere student. He is seduced by the Wife's less than exegetic scriptural interpretations and responds eagerly, calling her "prechour" (l. 165) and urging her to "teche us yonge men" (l. 187). The Pardoner now sends his ego back into conflict through intercourse with the Wife, simultaneously showing a natural inclination to resist and a need to learn from some one who seems to know what she's talking about.

Moreover, the Pardoner is reaching out, seeking a means to improve, creating more freedom from the anxiety caused by his old habits. By choosing words such as "prechour" and "teche," and also phrasing his words first as a question and then as a petition for knowledge, we see now what Freud had intended as the product of analysis:

...we assure the patient of the strictest discretion and place at his service our experience in interpreting material that has been influenced by the unconscious. Our knowledge is to make up for his ignorance and to give his ego back its mastery over lost provinces of his mental life...he is to tell us too what *he does not know* (*Psychoanalysis* 30, 31; emphasis mine).

The Pardoner also steers away from his inclination for poetic uniqueness—his overwhelming impulse to appropriate from the Biblical covering Cherub, in tandem with his clinamen impulse—and in fact to put to rest all poetic desires. No longer does he take the stance of rhetorical or poetic creator; instead, he becomes student, both as Freudian analysand and as Bloomian strong poet.

The Pardoner, by surface impression at least, chooses the right person in the Wife of Bath to solicit. No one in the *Canterbury Tales* has as much “experience” or “knowledge” in *les affaires de cour* as she. The Pardoner’s only problem is that her knowledge and experience are *literally* only in matters of the flesh. This less than comic situation (for the Pardoner anyway) is another indication of the strong self-destructive impulse of the neurotic persona. After this encounter, the Pardoner will for a span of time again withdraw back into the fold of the crowd, searching for some other means of legitimate self-expression. In fact, he waits until his turn to speak.

Soon after, at the Host’s invitation, the Pardoner then begins his discussions of origin, then moves on to his honest display, description and explanation of Papal Bulls, relics, cure-alls, etc. Yet, before the Pardoner brings us to his complete confession:

Thus spitte I out my venym under hewe
Of hoolynesse, to semen hooly and trewe (ll. 420-1),

he asserts,

If any wight be in this chirche now
That hath doon synne horrible, that he
Dar nat, for shame, of it yshryven be,
Or any womman, be she yong or old,
That hath ymaad hir housbonde cokewold,
Swich folk shal have no power ne nor grace
To ofren to my relikes in this place
 (“Prologue” ll. 378-84).

This statement shows us, all at once, his need for "omnipotence and grandiosity" (Fritz 346), Freud's reluctant repression tendency, and his Bloomian need to vanquish his precursors by manifesting a superiority over them through a discarding of their authority. But we can also view the Pardoner in his "Prologue" and "Tale" as gradually purging these impulses from his psyche by one last time running through the entire gamut of the manifestations of his self-asserting creative drive and juxtaposing them with condemningly honest confessions of what these creative yearnings have made him: "...a ful vicious man." We notice that throughout his sermon, there appear statements such as, "Looketh the Bible, and ther ye may leere" (l. 578), echoing his more submissive stance in the Wife's "Prologue." These statements culminate at the end of the text in his closing formula of:

And Jhesu Crist, that is our soules leche,
So graunte yow his pardoun to receyve,
For that is best; I wol yow nat deceyve.

The audience really has no need to fear his initial slide into resistance, where he coaxes them to buy the relics he has already confessed as being false; even if some are still swept up in the climax of his nearly perfect rhetorical flourish we have Harry Bailey, an adept listener and analyst, to remove the last remnant of resistance with his most insulting rejoinder:

I wolde I hadde thy coillons in myn hond
In stide of relikes or of seintuarie.
Lat kutte hem of, I wol thee helpe hem carie;
They shul be shryned in an hogges toord! (ll. 952-5).

The Pardoner has, throughout his rhetoric, displayed the complex struggle between id and ego and their relation to his profession. Like the Old Man of his sermon, he seeks a death, and his death is of his creative impulses. And then the silence, which, although an angry one now, relieves the Pardoner of all guilt related to the father, and allows him to remove the laurels of the poet. The Knight, one well versed in both following a liege's orders and in knowing one's social place, initiates the re-socialization with a kiss.

NOTES

As for riding with the Summoner upon leaving the tavern,
what better way to convey to both God and fellow riders the need

Summoner's (whose face shows scars of leprosy and maybe even venereal disease) also lends quite well to showing the Pardoner's stance as a poet rather than priest.

Most readers view the Pardoner as physically ugly. But why then did Chaucer actually describe some of this Pardoner's physical attributes favorably? First of all, we are told that, "This Pardoner hadde heer as yelow as wex,/But smothe it heeng as dooth a strike of flex" ("General Prologue" ll. 675-6). Walter Clyde Curry argues that, "'Yellow as wax' is *not* ugly" (14). It seems odd that the narrator would give a character meant to be portrayed so rebukingly as much description, all quite positively, of his hair, the one attribute most payed attention to by his contemporaries. Granted, the Pardoner's lack of beard, bulging eyes, and soft, high pitched voice are all detrimental qualities given by this same narrator, illustrating, respectively, impotency, alliance with Satan, and homosexuality (Curry 36, 61, 71). But, with the narrator's last point of description, his rhetorical prowess, we suddenly find ourselves thrown back into complimentary observation.

According to Walter Clyde Curry, in the Middle Ages, "Eloquence of speech is spoken of in terms of highest praise" (73). It seems Chaucer wants us to see a character with equal allotments of positive and negative personality traits. To continue in Freudian terms, we see through these traits the infinite struggle between the id and ego. Up until this pilgrimage, the id clearly dominates the battle. The Pardoner, however, possesses enough (even physical) attributes to begin to take control of his id.

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**KATHERINE ANNE PORTER'S EARLY STORIES:
SUCCESSFUL NARRATORS AND UNSUCCESSFUL
CHARACTERS**

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Despite the revealing scholarship on the thematic and emotional content of Katherine Anne Porter's fiction,¹ insufficient attention has been paid to its narration. In nine of the ten stories in *Flowering Judas*, her first published volume ("Maria Concepcion," "Virgin Violeta," "The Martyr," "Rope," "He," "Theft," "That Tree," "The Jilting of Granny Weatherall," and "Flowering Judas"²), the narrators are very similar. These third-person narrators are notable for two characteristics: their authority and their determination. These characteristics provide them with all the powers they need to tell their stories without hesitation, ambiguity, or uncertainty. Such consistency among an author's narrators is not surprising, nor is it surprising that the stories' protagonists share many qualities, as the previously cited studies have shown. But I shall attempt to demonstrate that the narrators and the protagonists are remarkably similar to each other. Like the narrators, the protagonists are determined and willful and, for characters, possess unusual power. Despite such strengths, the protagonists generally fail in their struggles to achieve order and balance, whereas the narrators, not forced to deal with the exigencies of life in Porter's harsh fictional world, succeed in their task of narration.

Narrative theorists suggest that the authority of narrators derives from several attributes. Seymour Chatman restricts the use of the term to the narrator's power to know characters' thoughts (212), which echoes Wayne Booth's dictum that a narrator's "most important single privilege is that of obtaining an inside view of another character" (160). A second source of narrator authority, related to the first, is overlapping between the narrator and the implied author, on the one hand, and the narrator and the characters on the other. Booth defines narratorial reliability as "when [the narrator] speaks for or acts in accordance with the norms of the work (which is to say, the implied author's norms)" (158); Scholes and Kellogg imply a similarly heightened authority in their reference to the near unity among artist, narrator, and protagonist in Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises* (269); and Chatman describes the narrator's increased authority when he or she is in such "unusual affinity" with a character that statements may be attributed to either (207). Also relevant here is Schlomith Rimmmon-Kenan's discussion of narratorial unreliability. In his view, narrators appear unreliable when

they lack knowledge, they are personally involved in the story, their value-scheme differs from the implied author's, the outcome proves them wrong, their views clash with the characters', or their language has contradictions or incongruities (100-102). This list suggests a third major source of narratorial power: single-mindedness of purpose. If a narrator engages in other functions besides simply telling the story (Genette 255-256), he or she is likely to become personally involved, to develop distinctive value-schemes, to make predictions, or to be contradictory.

On all these criteria, Porter's narrators in *Flowering Judas* have extraordinary authority. Their authority is expressed through their exceptional powers of reporting both external events and characters' thoughts and feelings. When they are outside characters' consciousnesses, they describe events with an unflinching gaze using the crystalline prose for which Porter is justly renowned. More astonishing is the combination of this external lucidity with the narrators' ability to convey characters' internal states. In "Virgin Violeta," "He," and "Theft," the narration smoothly blends external occurrences with one character's reflections and concerns about them. This technique is radically extended in "The Jilting of Granny Weatherall" where the narrator floats between the depths of Granny's wandering mind and its attempts to interact with others.

But these narrators exhibit even greater authority since they usually have access to more than one character's consciousness. The shift to the guest's perspective at the end of the journalist's monologue in "That Tree" is one example. Another is the occasional glimpse into Braggioni's mind in "Flowering Judas," which otherwise is limited to Laura's mind. But this power is best illustrated by "Maria Concepcion" and "Rope." In the former, Porter's first published story, the narrator has the power of reading the minds of all the characters except Maria Rosa: Maria Concepcion, her husband Juan, the old lady Lupe, the archaeologist Givens, and even the groups of villagers and gendarmes. The narrator not only can report all these consciousnesses but moves fluidly in and out of them. For example, she describes, externally, how the village men worked for Givens: "Nearly all of the men of the community worked for Givens, helping him to uncover the lost city of their ancestors" (CS 6).³ But in the following sentence the narrator crosses, almost imperceptibly, into their thoughts: "They worked all the year through and prospered, digging every day for those small clay heads and bits of pottery and fragments of painted walls *for which there was no good use on earth, being all broken and encrusted with clay*"

(my emphasis). This internal free style continues for the next two sentences: "They themselves could make better ones, perfectly stout and new, which they took to town and peddled to foreigners for real money. But the unearthly delight of the chief in finding these worn-out things was an endless puzzle." Because the narrator slides so easily into the villagers' consciousness, almost without the reader's awareness, her power is enhanced, and the impression is created that she can report, internally and externally, whatever and wherever she needs to.

In "Rope," Porter uses indirect free style to blur the line between dialogue and characters' thoughts and thereby to accentuate the narrator's power. The story is a composite of the narrator's external observations, the couple's dialogue, and their thoughts; but instead of following the convention of clearly separating these types of narration, Porter juxtaposes them without obvious markers, such as quotation marks for the dialogue. This extended use of indirect free style, more specifically of a version of that style which Chatman identifies as "narrative report" (203), sheds light on Porter's narrative method throughout the volume. The narrator's focus in "Rope" on the overlap between characters' thoughts, characters' words, and the narrator's reporting reveals that Porter is concerned about such problems and makes explicit the power of her narrators to know their characters' thoughts and the external actions in their stories and to present forcefully whatever of both they need to convey the truth of the story.

The narrators' powers are further illustrated by their ability to report the unusual states of the characters, when they are not their normal selves, are in some way outside themselves, or are responding subconsciously. In her essay on Eudora Welty, Porter describes such states as "the internal voiceless life of the human imagination" (*CE* 289). The most thorough treatment of this mode occurs in "The Jilting of Granny Weatherall" in which Granny's mind flits in and out of consciousness. The narrator effortlessly follows the twists and turns of her mind and moves freely back and forth between it and external events, so that the result is a seamless text. Similarly, at the end of "Flowering Judas" the narrator—after delineating Laura's routine, her values, and her conscious thoughts—shifts smoothly into her half-conscious stream of consciousness in the penultimate paragraph, and then continues, with no hesitation or apparent difficulty, with Laura's revelatory dream.

The narrators of other stories also have access to the deepest levels of characters' beings. In "Maria Concepcion" this mode occurs several times, first when Maria sees Juan and Maria Rosa intimately together:

"Maria Concepcion did not stir nor breathe for some seconds. Her forehead was cold, and yet boiling water seemed to be pouring slowly along her spine" (CS 5). When Maria re-emerges into normal consciousness, the narrator explicitly calls attention to Maria's altered state: "Maria Concepcion came out of the heavy cloud which enwrapped her head and bound her throat, and found herself walking onward, keeping the road without knowing it, feeling her way delicately..." (CS 6). The most dramatic moment of the story, when Maria Concepcion "decides" to kill Maria Rosa, also reveals Maria Concepcion's instinctive nature and, again, the narrator's power to describe it. On her usual way to the market, at first she loses consciousness: "She ran with a crazy panic in her head, her stumbling legs" (CS 13), but then, strangely, she "came to her senses completely" and realized that she was going to commit the murder. It is strange for the narrator to say that she has come to her senses, for the rest of that paragraph describes a trance-like state in which she hardly seems conscious: "She jerked with the *involuntary* recoil of one who receives a blow" (my emphasis), she "sat there in deadly silence and immobility," and "All her being was a dark, confused memory of grief burning in her at night." If she has indeed come to her senses, they are not her normal ones but those of her "internal voiceless life."

Other characters experience similar states. Also in "Maria Concepcion," when Juan is awakened by Maria after the murder (CS 14) he "awakened slowly," and as he does so the sensory and mental confusion in his semi-conscious state resembles Laura's half-consciousness just before her dream. And at the end of the story, Maria, now peaceful, lapses into a similar semi-conscious, semi-unconscious absorption of her whole self:

The night, the earth under her, seemed to swell and recede together with a limitless, unhurried, benign breathing. She dropped and closed her eyes, feeling the slow rise and fall within her own body. She did not know what it was, but it eased her all through. Even as she was falling asleep, head bowed over the child, she was still aware of a strange, wakeful happiness. (CS 21)

In "Theft," at the critical moment near the end of the story when the protagonist fully feels the meaning of the loss of her purse, she also experiences an altered form of consciousness, one connected with her whole, inner being:

In this moment she felt that she had been robbed of an enormous number of valuable things, whether material or intangible: things lost or broken by her own fault, things she had forgotten and left in houses when she moved: books borrowed from her and not returned, journeys she had planned and had not made, words she had waited to hear spoken to her and had not heard, and the words she had meant to answer with; bitter alternatives and intolerable substitutes worse than nothing, and yet inescapable: the long patient suffering of dying friendships and the dark inexplicable death of love—all that she had had, and all that she had missed, were lost together, and were twice lost in this landslide of remembered losses. (CS 64)

Several generalizations may be made about these passages. First, they occur at crucial moments—when characters act decisively or when the emotional impact of their situation fully hits them. Second, their frequency suggests that the truth Porter aims to convey is often not found in the characters' conscious thoughts. Third, the narrators' ability to report such states, and to report them as assuredly as external events or conscious states, increases the narrators' credibility and implies that such states are at least as significant as normal consciousness in the narrators' quests for the complete truth. Fourth, when these states convey characters' unconsciousness, they are associated with darkness and with blood. Granny Weatherall, struggling throughout with darkness, finally shrinks to "the point of light that was herself" before she blows out that light and submits to the "endless darkness" which "would curl around the light and swallow it up" (CS 89). When Maria Concepcion sees her husband with Maria Rosa, she is "wrapped" in a "heavy cloud" and "A dark empty feeling had filled her" (CS 6); then in her trance before the murder, "All her being was a dark, confused memory" (CS 13). In "That Tree" Miriam is reported to lose herself in similar, dark trances: "her mind seemed elsewhere, gone into some darkness of its own" (CS 73). Blood, in contrast to mind, is also associated with this condition. In "Theft" the protagonist mentally decides not to follow the janitress to regain her purse ("Then let it go"), but simultaneously her body, as it were, disagrees: "With this decision of her mind, there rose coincidentally in her blood a deep almost murderous anger" and immediately she goes to confront the thief (CS 63). Blood is also associated with Laura's subconscious nature when in her dream the Judas-tree flowers become Eugenio's body and blood. It figures again in the journalist's description of his struggle with Miriam: "and here he had been

overtaken at last and beaten into resignation that had nothing to do with his mind or heart. It was as if his blood stream had betrayed him" (CS 77).

The sense of narratorial authority is strengthened by Porter's frequent use of the habitual past tense. For example, in "Virgin Violeta" "Carlos *would* slant his pale eyes at Blanca" (CS 22), and "Papacito *would* say, 'What you need is a good renovating'" (CS 25); in "The Martyr" "Isabel *used to* call Ruben her little 'Churro'" (CS 33, my emphasis); and approximately the first third of "He" (CS 49-51) is written in this mode. The effect is to enhance the narrator's authority: this is the way things always were, this is what people always said and did, there is no room for doubt or debate. In "Flowering Judas" Porter's narrator acquires a similar power through the habitual present tense. As the story opens we are told that Laura and Braggioni have played the same scene every evening for a month, but we are made to feel that experience, and to believe the narrator totally, because of the universalizing effect of the present tense. It is not that Braggioni *sat* "heaped upon the edge of a straight-backed chair" (CS 90), because events in the past may be misremembered, may not be exactly true. But he "sits" on the chair—the same way, forever. If it's happening right now before the narrator's eyes and it always happens that way, there can be no mistake or doubt.

The narrators' power derives not only from the abilities I have been describing but also from what they do not do. They rigorously stick with the "narrative function" (Genette 255), that is, to telling the story, and do not involve themselves with Genette's other narratorial functions: references to their own text (the "directing function"); comments on the "narrating situation"; intrusions into their own sources, memories, or feelings (the "testimonial function"); or commentary on the action (the "ideological function"). Likewise, they rarely use irony to call attention to the difference between themselves and the characters. They present themselves as unblinking, unbiased reporters, letting the characters speak and think for themselves, and leaving interpretations to their readers.

As one would expect from the foregoing, these narrators do not call attention to their own roles; here we have virtually no metadiscourse or self-referential language, none of what Chatman calls "commentary on the discourse" or "self-conscious narration" (248).⁴ Similarly, these narrators seldom indulge in devices that call attention, even indirectly, to the fictionality of the stories. There is little or no foreshadowing or allusions, the act of writing is not a subject, nor are there texts to be

interpreted.⁵ In Genette's terms the stories have no "narration in the second degree," no "metadiegetic" level (228). The narrators, never self-conscious, combine reticence and control to create an aura of objective efficiency and unrestrained authority.

Like the narrators, the protagonists in this fictional world are serious, strongly willed, determined to do what needs to be done, anxious to understand the truth. Maria Concepcion *must* kill Maria Rosa, the protagonist of "Theft" *must* try to regain her purse, Mrs. Whipple tries her hardest to take care of He and to keep up appearances, and the journalist, Granny Weatherall, and Laura are determined to square themselves with their worlds. There is no light-heartedness here, no laid-back acceptance of life. These protagonists confront life head on, not waiting for someone else or time to take care of their needs. Moreover, they actively define their problems, which center on their internal need to discover the truth about themselves or about their relations with others, a need to place themselves in what they see as the proper relationship with their world.

This serious determination of the protagonists is accentuated because it contrasts with most of the minor characters' attitudes. For example, Juan, Maria Concepcion's husband, takes life casually, trusting his luck that someone or something will bail him out; Mr. Whipple, faced with the same external problems as his wife, lacks her scruples, does not define an internal problem for himself, and is much more willing than her to compromise He's welfare; and Laura's self-denying stoicism is the opposite of the self-indulgent hedonism of Braggioni and everyone else in "Flowering Judas."

Because of their scruples and their determination, and because their situations are difficult, life does not come easy for the protagonists. They find it hard to understand the truth or to accomplish their objectives. Thus, in varying degrees they falter in their determination, they suffer setbacks, or they achieve only partial success. Maria Concepcion fulfills her self-imposed requirement of killing Maria Rosa and happily regains Juan and a substitute for her lost baby, but not without faltering (when she returns helplessly to Juan after the murder) and not without the considerable help of Juan, Lupe, and the villagers. Violeta, driven by curiosity as well as will, does attract Carlos' attention and glimpses the hidden world she suspected, but its secrets are not what she anticipated, so, overwhelmed, she retreats to childhood in her mother's lap. The woman in "Theft," knowing she is right, confronts the janitress, but must retreat when the latter denies taking the purse. At that moment she suffers from a sense of total loss, loss of

self, almost loss of life: "all that she had had, and all that she had missed, were lost together" (CS 64). She regains the purse but only after learning one of the hard lessons of Porter's world: "I was right not to be afraid of any thief but myself, who will end by leaving me nothing" (CS 65). Mrs. Whipple, despite her efforts, lacks the resources, internal and external, to keep He healthy and the family together. Unlike her husband, she feels deeply and therefore suffers deeply. In "Rope" the husband and wife are enmeshed in a typical marital power struggle, in which both must assert their need for individuality (symbolized by the rope and the coffee). Yet both also want the marriage to succeed, even when that means giving up their individual needs. They are left in midstream, struggling with this endless dilemma, brought about because they are typical Porter protagonists—strong-willed, deep-feeling—in Porter's typical world where obstacles usually prevail.

This struggle is more complex in the last three stories, in which each protagonist's internal effort to order his or her life is protracted and finally unsuccessful. In "That Tree" the journalist tells his lengthy story to the guest, including his successful career, his frank admission that Miriam was right about his Mexican artist friends, and Miriam's request to return. However, his boast that this time he will be in charge reveals that he is deceiving himself, that he has not matured as much as he thinks. This disparity is revealed at the end of the story in Porter's uncharacteristic irony. First, the guest realizes that the journalist will not control Miriam in the future any more than he did in the past: when the journalist asserts that "he wasn't going to marry her again, either" (CS 79), the reader senses that the guest knows better when the latter thinks, " 'Don't forget to invite me to your wedding.' " Then, the journalist unconsciously bares his weakness when he interrupts his assertion of control. He intends his "important statement" to be " 'I suppose you think I don't know what's happening, this time.' " But because he pauses and Porter includes an intervening paragraph, his final statement reads, " 'I don't know what's happening, this time,' " which undercuts his intention and the possible success of his re-marriage (DeMouy 78). Thus, the journalist will be unsuccessful, because, despite his will and depth of feeling, he lacks sufficient insight and self-knowledge.

Granny Weatherall's goal, as she struggles with her memory, her fading perceptions, and death's approach, is to convince herself that her life has been whole despite her jilting. She has every reason to be content, surrounded by her children and remembering her loving husband, but her scruples and her unyielding perfectionism will not let

her forget. Thus, she cannot “find” Hapsy, she runs out of time, and, at the end, she feels jilted again, this time by God: “God, give a sign! For the second time there was no sign. Again no bridegroom and the priest in the house” (CS 89). She fails because she demands too much. She has the strength Mrs. Whipple lacks and the self-knowledge the journalist lacks, but she asks for too much, for in Porter’s world, the past cannot be undone and God does not give signs. Even a character’s strengths may prevent her attainment of order and happiness.

In “Flowering Judas” Laura is trapped in an impossible situation. The more she tries to control herself, stoically to reject all feeling, the more she isolates herself from her world. In her conscious mind, she keeps a tenuous hold on her feelings, but in her dreams her subconscious mind reveals the futility of her attempt. Like Granny, she demands too much—to keep her idealism about her religion, the revolution, and people in general, and yet to live in a corrupt world. Like the journalist she lacks understanding of herself and her situation and, for the time being at least, is therefore paralyzed by her dilemma.

As Porter’s determined protagonists struggle to place themselves properly in their worlds, they exhibit remarkable powers, powers resembling those of the narrators. One such power is their extraordinary memories. The journalist in “That Tree” recounts in detail the history of his relationship with Miriam; Granny Weatherall, even as her sensory powers fade, graphically recalls all the details of her life. This power of memory is particularly explicit in “Theft,” which begins with the woman’s effort to recall where she had left her purse:

She had the purse in her hand when she came in. Standing in the middle of the floor, holding her bathrobe around her and trailing a damp towel in one hand, she surveyed the immediate past and remembered everything clearly. Yes, she had opened the flap and spread it out on the bench after she had dried the purse with her handkerchief. (CS 59)

And it turns out that she is right. In Porter’s world, characters who try *will* remember. In their ability to do so, they resemble the narrators, whose memories never falter and are never called into question. This approximation of the characters to the narrators’ power of memory is especially close in “That Tree” and “The Jilting of Granny Weatherall,” where the protagonists almost supplant the narrators as they tell their own stories.

Another remarkable power of Porter's characters is the power to know what is going on around them, which also reduces the distance between them and the narrators. This awareness includes the ability of characters to know their own power: in "Maria Concepcion" old Lupe knows she could incriminate Maria Concepcion and can baffle the gendarmes, Maria Concepcion knows she can successfully demand the baby, and the Captain knows Givens will want to rescue Juan. Similarly, in "Theft," the protagonist knows she can demand the purse from the janitress; the journalist in "That Tree" knows he can insult the newspaperman at the next table; and Laura knows she can walk the streets with impunity.

This power extends to the knowledge of other characters' states of mind, a power normally reserved for narrators. Even though he does not know her well, Givens notices Maria Concepcion's pallor; in "Virgin Violeta" Carlos knows Violeta is infatuated with him, and Blanca knows what happened in the sunroom; the protagonist of "Theft" knows that "Camilo was far different" from Eddie (CS 59); the journalist in "That Tree" knows when Miriam is in her dark trance; and "Laura knows [Braggioni's] mood has changed, she will not see him any more for a while" (CS 101). The extended use of indirect free style in "Rope," which ambiguously entwines the husband's and wife's thoughts and dialogue, implies the absence of a distinction between thought and spoken word, suggesting in other words that both know each other's thoughts as if they were spoken. One instance confirms this suspicion: "He was getting ready to say that they could surely manage somehow when she turned on him and said, if he told her they could manage somehow she would certainly slap his face" (CS 43).

Characters' knowledge of other characters is often conveyed through the eyes. The journalist refers to the success that "you can see...in other people's eyes at tea and dinner parties" (CS 78). "Braggioni catches [Laura's] glance solidly as if he had been waiting for it" (CS 92) and is "disconcert[ed]" because "she permits" his "liberty of speech" "without a sign of modesty, indeed, without any sort of sign" (CS 97). Violeta rightly suspects that mysteries are being communicated by glances: "Blanca, listening, would eye her with superior calm and say nothing" (CS 25), "With a glance [Carlos] seemed to see all one's faults" (CS 28), and "it terrified her to see the way eyes could give away such cruel stories about people" (CS 30).

The almost uncanny ability of characters to know each other is also suggested by the existence of groups of minor, unnamed characters who act in unison. Many of the stories have such groups: the villagers and the gendarmes in "Maria Concepcion," Ruben's friends in "The

Martyr,” the comrades and the prisoners in “Flowering Judas,” and the neighbors in “He.” What is distinctive about these chorus-like groups is that each group thinks and even speaks as one. The comrades all give Laura the same advice (CS 91), and the prisoners even use the same words to complain to her (CS 94). The neighbors in “He” “talk plainly among themselves. ‘A Lord’s pure mercy if He should die,’ they said. ‘It’s the sins of the fathers,’ they agreed among themselves” (CS 49); and when they talk to the Whipples they have a different line: “ ‘He’s not so bad off. He’ll be all right yet. Look how He grows!’ ” (CS 50). Porter exaggerates their petty unanimity by using the habitual past tense to assert that they even spoke the same words, all of them, each time. For her part, Mrs. Whipple is not fooled by the duplicity, and, rightfully, knows what they really think: “ ‘It’s the neighbors...Oh, I do mortally wish they would keep out of our business’ ” (CS 51). The unanimity within these groups suggests that knowing what other characters think is not as difficult in Porter’s stories as it might be, and the motif contributes to the effect that characters, more often than not, can know the thoughts of others.

Despite the accessibility of such knowledge and despite their similarity to the narrators, Porter’s protagonists usually fail to acquire sufficient knowledge of other characters’ internal states, a failure which seems all the more frustrating because success in reading others is shown to be possible. Throughout the volume, Porter examines this problem of the perception and misperception of others from a variety of angles. In “Rope,” despite the husband and wife’s knowledge of each other and their desire to develop their relationship, the distances that separate them are daunting. In “Virgin Violeta,” Porter looks at the issue from the point of view of the uninitiated. Violeta, still a child, a “virgin,” but trying to enter the adult world, is haunted by the sense that other people share secret knowledge and secret communications which she does not. She senses—rightly, in Porter’s world—the existence of a secret loop of unspoken interpersonal communication, and she is tormented at being out of the loop. She speculates that her parents “seemed to have some mysterious understanding about things” (CS 25), and she worries that Carlos and Blanca “were purposely shutting her out” (CS 28). Since she has her own secret life (her love of Carlos) and since she feels constant inner turmoil—both also characteristic of Porter’s adult protagonists—she reasons that others must also: “it was all very confusing, because she could not understand why the things that happen outside of people were so different from what she felt inside of her” (CS 23). Then, after she drifts, knowingly but unknowingly, into the rendezvous with Carlos and is overwhelmed by

the sexual intimacy of the kiss, she is devastated because she had misinterpreted that mysterious loop: "Something was terribly wrong"; "I thought—a kiss—meant—meant—"; and "Oh, she had made a hideous mistake" (CS 29). Thus, the story delineates the special problems of an uninitiated character, very like Porter's adults, who speculates about and attempts to enter Porter's characteristic society where people do read each other and do exert their wills and, at least the protagonists, do feel constant inner turmoil.

In "He" Porter examines the problem of understanding a person from yet another angle. Whereas Violeta's immaturity excludes her from the loop, in "He" the misperceptions are sustained by a combination of the opacity and the lack of self-expression of the person being observed (He) and the lack of skill, commitment, and intuition of the observer (Mrs. Whipple). Since He cannot talk and shows no signs of complaint or suffering, it is too easy for Mrs. Whipple to assume that all is well. When the plank hits him, "He never seemed to know it" (CS 50); in the winter "He never seemed to mind the cold" (CS 50); and when he must take on Adna's chores, "He seemed to get along fine" (CS 56). So, on the one hand, He is more difficult to know than ordinary people; but on the other hand, no one is very well suited to discover knowledge about him. Mrs. Whipple, the only character who is concerned enough, lacks the gritty determination of most of Porter's protagonists to be even partially successful. She is too willing to let an excuse—what the neighbors will say, for example—thwart her efforts. She is concerned enough to suffer and feel guilty, but she is helpless to address the problem.

In "That Tree," Porter explores the issue of interpersonal knowledge in the lives of two characters who, especially in contrast to characters in the other stories, have an unusual lack of mutual understanding. From the moment Miriam arrives in Mexico, things do not go well: she wants a middle-class American lifestyle, not the journalist's bohemian one; and she sees through and dislikes his artistic friends. The problem becomes more general, becomes a genuine inability to understand and communicate: "He could never make her see his point of view for one moment" (CS 71) and "[Miriam] upset most of his theories" (CS 73). When she leaves, he hardly recognizes her: "She had been shabby and thin and wild-looking for so long he could not remember ever having seen her any other way, yet all at once her profile in the doorway was unrecognizable to him" (CS 77). This total failure of mutual understanding in the past, as well as the journalist's lack of self-knowledge, dooms their proposed re-marriage.

In "The Jilting of Granny Weatherall," Porter probes the issue of interpersonal knowledge from an extreme perspective. As Granny fades from contact with the external world, she slips further and further outside the loop of interpersonal relations. But she is engrossed in, for her, a much more significant struggle for knowledge. As she tries to justify her life, her failure to marry George, and her sexual intercourse with George, she seeks, not understanding of other living people, but a spiritual, ethical, and ultimate understanding of herself and her life. Since her memories of John and her legitimate children cannot undo that past and since nothing they do or say can help, she looks to God for a sign and dies "jilted" again. Unlike Mrs. Whipple or the journalist, she does exhibit the necessary determination to pursue the quest for truth, but she has defined a problem that is beyond her ability to solve.

Laura's situation in respect to understanding others and herself depicts the most complex treatment of the theme. She both knows and doesn't know others. She knows and respects Braggioni's power, and she knows how her news about Eugenio will affect him. Yet, an alien, she does not know the effect of throwing a flower to the young suitor from Guanajuato. More fundamentally, she has placed herself in an untenable situation where "She is not at home in the world" (CS 97). She is Roman Catholic, helping revolutionaries who fight against the Church's power. She loves luxury, such as hand-made lace, and she fears and hates machines, yet she aids a revolution whose program for social reform would eliminate luxuries and rely on machines. She is an idealist, working with jaded opportunists. She is a stoic, trying to live with passionate hedonists. She tries to repress all her emotions, to live by denial, to invoke her "talismanic" "No" (CS 97), but she cannot stop feeling. Her emotions not only exist but are contradictory—she walks the streets and enters the prisons without fear and "she looks at everything without amazement," but she *is* afraid and she *is* amazed. She is partially aware of the contradictions. She is aware of the "disunion between her way of living and her feeling of what life should be" (CS 91). She is aware that she should leave but that she cannot: "Now she is free, and she thinks, I must run while there is time. But she does not go" (CS 101). She is aware that her idealism may be a sham: " 'It may be true I am as corrupt, in another way, as Braggioni', she thinks in spite of herself" (CS 93). Yet she is terribly unaware. She "cannot say" what are her "devotion," her "true motives," or her "obligations" (CS 93) to the revolution. She does not realize her own sexuality, her thinly veiled interest in men (DeMouy 78), and she does

not understand that she cannot repress all her emotions, which emerge so emphatically in her dream.

In her dream her subconscious mind expresses what her conscious philosophy of denial refuses to acknowledge. She yearns for human contact—physical and emotional—in her insistence that Eugenio hold her hand. She expresses her need for integration and communion with humanity in her eager devouring of the flowers, which she felt “satisfied both hunger and thirst,” the hunger and thirst not of her body but of her soul. In her dream, especially in her act of eating the Judas blossoms, she also expresses her feelings of being betrayed and of guilt for betraying others. Although consciously she does not admit it, Laura feels betrayed—by the revolution, by Braggioni, by the Polish and Romanian agitators, by Eugenio for overdosing himself, and even by Lupe (who incorrectly advised her to throw the flower). And now Eugenio tricks her with his invitation to eat the flowers. But subconsciously Laura knows that she is also a betrayer: she betrays Eugenio by bringing him the drugs, the revolution by not being true to its principles, and herself by denying her emotions, even her life. Thus, the dream expresses Laura's being betrayed and her betraying, her chastity and her appetites, her isolation and her need for community, her hopes and her fears, her life-force and her death wish.

As a narrative technique, the dream enables Porter to reveal what depiction of Laura's conscious thoughts, actions, or dialogue cannot. She shows us what lies beneath the surface contradictions. Like the passages in which Porter describes a character in a trance or a semi-conscious state, the dream is an extension of that form of narration, a more direct and more thorough revelation of a character's inner being, where, in Laura's case, as in other characters', an essential part of the truth resides.

Thus, in Porter's first volume the characters who matter the most, the protagonists, are similar to the narrators. Bothered by life, they try to define their problems, they want to know the truth, and they want to straighten things out. Like the narrators, they have the power to remember accurately and, often, the power to know the thoughts of others. Yet, in varying degrees and in varying ways, they fall short. They may lack will-power, insight, or skill, or, even if they possess those qualities, they may lose them temporarily and therefore falter. They may only partially understand themselves. They may define a problem or face difficulties that are simply beyond their control. On the other hand, the narrators, who transcend the harsh fictional reality, are given the authority and determination to succeed. In addition to their powers of knowing characters' inmost states, these narrators

appear to be in unison with Porter's implied values. The stories value determination, self-knowledge, perseverance, honesty, and directness—all qualities that the protagonists strive for and the narrators already possess.

NOTES

¹See DeMouy, Johnson, Liberman, Unrue, Welty, and West.

²The additional story, "Magic," is narrated in the first person by the hairdresser and thus embodies a substantially different narrative form than the other nine stories.

³I have used these texts of Porter's work:
CE The Collected Essays and Occasional Writings of Katherine Ann Porter (New York: Delacorte Press, 1970).
CS The Collected Stories of Katherine Anne Porter (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1870).

⁴There are two minor examples in "The Martyr": "and that is the end of them as far as we are concerned" (*CS* 34), where the "we" refers to the narrator and the reader; and "to say it as gently as possible, died" (*CS* 37), where the narrator calls attention to her act of narration.

⁵"The Martyr" again provides an exception, when Ruben's death and final words are interpreted and commemorated (*CS* 37-38).

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**THE MOTIF OF WATER IN CHARLES KINGSLEY'S
*THE WATER-BABIES***

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The Water-Babies of Charles Kingsley, the story of little Tom the poor child chimney sweep who, reborn as a water-baby, experiences wonderful adventures under the water in the company of a myriad of real and imaginary creatures, is a marvelous compendium of diverse material, much of which, it must be acknowledged, only touches the story's principal theme tangentially.¹ Indeed, this 1863 child's fantasy abounds with didactic and moralizing topics dear to the heart of the author. Kingsley had at least two aims in writing this tale. It was begun as a simple story for his youngest child, Grenville. As his wife tells us, Kingsley, upon being reminded one morning "of an old promise, 'Rose, Maurice, and Mary have got their book, and baby must have his'...made no answer, but got up at once and went into his study, locking the door. In half an hour he returned with the story of little Tom. This was the first chapter of *The Waterbabies*, written off without a correction."² Unaffected, direct, and delightful, the chapter is one bound to captivate even the most jaded of children. The rest of the book, which appeared at monthly intervals in *Macmillan's Magazine*, is equally appealing. Much of the story is a gripping fantasy, a fairy-tale like "Jack the Giant-Killer" or "Beauty and the Beast," of the kind which Kingsley himself greatly admired and which countless children have enjoyed over the years.

The Water-Babies also displays repeatedly the second of Kingsley's aims in composition, namely to serve as a mouthpiece for many of his diverse social, scientific, educational, religious, and political views. As Guy Kendall has observed, it is nearly "possible to deduce all Kingsley's theories...from this charming fantasy alone."³ Kingsley loaded the tale with his opinions on such subjects as the question of evolution; the greed of lawyers; architectural excesses; the tendency for scientists to obfuscate and argue incessantly over petty details; racial and national stereotypes; the appalling medical treatment often meted out by physicians; the unhealthiness of girls' fashions with their tight stays and cramped boots and shoes; the frequent carelessness of nursery-maids; the cruelty of many teachers and the corporal punishment all too prevalent in schools; the certification process of elementary school teachers; the emphasis of pupil-teachers on mechanical rote-learning; the anti-educational effects of the contemporary "payment by results"

examination system; and the urgent need for legislation to protect chimney-sweep boys and collier boys. Though the subject matter and the treatment of some of these topics are undoubtedly beyond the interest of many children, still Queenie Leavis is apt in pointing out that *The Water-Babies*, in addition to constituting a fine story in itself, provides a good introduction for thoughtful children to diverse aspects of the Victorian Age as well as treatments of important intellectual questions. However, above all other motifs is one which recurs throughout the tale and which also reflects some of Kingsley's most strongly held social and religious convictions, namely the motif of water as a purifying agent, cleansing in both physical and spiritual senses. Aspects of this theme have been discussed in the plentiful critical literature on *The Water-Babies*; however, no comprehensive account has yet appeared. Though I do not essay to provide the latter, in the following pages I treat the water motif from four distinct perspectives: this liquid's physical cleansing properties; its sanitary role in preventing disease; Tom's physical washing by water as an allegory of an individual's Christian Baptism; the general purification by water symbolizing a much needed moral and spiritual rebirth of society.⁴

Of course, one expects the theme of water to be pervasive in *The Water-Babies*. Moreover, it should come as no surprise to anyone acquainted with Kingsley's biography that the matter of this work should deal so extensively with rivers and seas and their multifariousness of aquatic life. Kingsley, despite his consistently less than robust health, was throughout his life a very keen fisherman, an energetic outdoorsman, and an avid naturalist. His proud reference to himself as "a strong, daring, sporting wild man-of-the-woods" is most appropriate.⁵ His interest in and knowledge of the natural world was eminently proven by his election to both the Linnaean and Geological Societies and his citation by Darwin in *The Descent of Man*.⁶ The 1855 *Glaucus*; or, *The Wonders of the Shore*, not written primarily with children in mind but soon appropriated by them, was his greatest work of natural history. Though somewhat marred for young people by theological and literary asides, it betrayed a keen appreciation of the marine world and Kingsley amply displayed his gift of being able to convey scientific knowledge in a simple, direct, and dramatic manner. While *The Water-Babies* is clearly less scientific in nature than *Glaucus*, its wonderful depictions of the aquatic realm are just as vivid and its descriptions of all the varied river and marine creatures

encountered by Tom after his metamorphosis into a water-baby makes for a delightful and an informative introduction to marine biology.

Water in this tale, however, represents far more than the habitat of enchanting creatures. Particularly prominent is an emphasis by Kingsley on this liquid's physical cleansing properties. We are told repeatedly that little Tom is well nigh ignorant of the very notion of ablutions and of the important role water generally plays in such an activity. He had rarely, if ever, washed himself, though this was perhaps understandable, "for there was no water up the court where he lived." (4) Nor was his master, Mr. Grimes, especially enamored of personal cleanliness. Having dipped his head in the spring one morning he quickly disabused Tom of the notion that he did it to clean himself. Rather, it was to help him recover from a hangover: "what dost want with washing thyself? Thou did not drink half a gallon of beer last night, like me." (16) Seeing the spotlessly clean little Ellie asleep in her bedroom during his exploration of the grand Harthover House, Tom even wonders, "And are all people like that when they are washed?" Then a glance at himself in the mirror reveals "a little ugly, black, ragged figure, with bleared eyes and grinning white teeth," and Tom, "for the first time in his life, found out that he was dirty." (30) He was clearly even dirtier than the old cock-grouse whom he met later after his flight from Sir John's House, for this bird, though there was no water about, "had been washing himself in sand, like an Arab." (41) In fact, the perspiration Tom exuded while climbing down Lewthwaite Crag had "washed him cleaner than he had been for a whole year." (55) But the first true cleaning which he experienced was when he tumbled into the river and received such a complete washing from the fairies that the genuine Tom for the first time emerged. (88) Reading such passages, one is not too surprised that Kingsley is said to have had a fetish about washing and personal cleanliness—and copious references to this topic may be found in other of his writings, besides this children's story. Moreover, he actually saw in water, preferably cold water, a moral agent which would help beget that bluff muscular Christian Englishman of masculine vigor, doughty spirit, and yeoman mien whom he believed was needed to save England from her increasing effeminacy and soft ways. Such individuals were invariably the heroes of his novels: Tom Thurnal in *Two Years Ago*, Amyas Leigh in *Westward Ho!*, Hereward in *Hereward the Wake*, and though not English, Philammon in *Hypathia*. Kingsley even believed that cleanliness was one of the deadly enemies of drunkenness:

and what is more than all—we wash. That morning cold bath which foreigners consider as Young England's strangest superstition, has done as much, believe me, to abolish drunkenness, as any other cause whatsoever. With a clean skin in healthy action, and nerves and muscles braced by a sudden shock, men do not crave for artificial stimulants. I have found that, *cæteris paribus*, a man's sobriety is in direct proportion to his cleanliness.⁷

The belief in the virtuous properties of cold water is also stressed in the "Moral" at the end of *The Water-Babies*:

Meanwhile, do you learn your lessons, and thank God that you have plenty of cold water to wash in; and wash in it too, like a true Englishman. And then, if my story is not true, something better is; and if I am not quite right, still you will be, as long as you stick to hard work and cold water. (388)

Of course, Kingsley's distinctly odd though frequently expressed conviction that a cold bath every morning would inevitably lead a man to moral rectitude, was "a conviction," as Kingsley's biographer Susan Chitty declares, "for which generations of English public schoolboys have had reason to curse him."⁸

Kingsley was also deeply concerned with water as an essential agent in preventing disease. The ubiquitous motif of water in *The Water-Babies* clearly reflects the author's life-long preoccupation with the urgent need to introduce greater awareness about sanitation and hygiene into his contemporaries' lives. As he wrote to Lady Harding on July 22, 1859: "I am tired of most things in the world. Of sanitary reform I shall never grow tired. No one can accuse a man of being sentimental over *it*, or of doing too much in *it*. There can be no mistake about the saving of human lives, and the training up a healthy generation."⁹ He was particularly worried about people's ignorance of the dangers inherent in dirty water. As he preached to the schoolboy in his essay *The Air-Mothers*: "Water, you must remember, just as it is life when pure, is death when foul. For it can carry, unseen to the eye, and even when it looks clear and sparkling, and tastes soft and sweet, poisons which have perhaps killed more human beings than ever were killed in battle."¹⁰ Again and again throughout the country, he lectured on the pressing need for increased sanitation, and some of these lectures

are among the most powerful and effective of his prolific oeuvre.¹¹ During the very wet summer of 1860 when the farmers were complaining bitterly and most of the clergy were praying for a release from the downpour, Kingsley even preached a sermon welcoming the rain. This was later published under the title of "Why Should We Pray for Fair Weather?" As his wife explained: "The cholera had long been threatening England, and Mr. Kingsley's knowledge of physical and sanitary science had told him how beneficial this heavy rain was—a gift from God at that particular moment to ward off the enemy which was at hand, by cleansing drains and sweeping away refuse, and giving the poor an abundance of sweet clean water."¹²

However, Kingsley did not rest content with sermonizing about the necessity for the purification of the water supply, especially in England's expanding urban areas, and for greater sanitary efforts. Kingsley, typical of those muscular Christians who eschewed the affectations of the Oxford Movement and the surfeit of theological niceties rampant in clerical circles, actually attempted to effect in practice among his parishioners those improved social and political conditions which he earnestly preached in the pulpit. This was a real Christianity removed from "the conflict of religion and science, as well as abstruse disputes relating to episcopacy and the Articles."¹³ And particularly important was Kingsley's eagerness to instill an appreciation of the rules of public health. In 1849, for example, when the cholera epidemic started in Jacob's Island in Bermondsey, a district in London's East End which had already achieved notoriety in *Oliver Twist* (1837-1838), he wrote to his wife of his great concern over the foul sanitary conditions: "I was yesterday with George Walsh and Mansfield over the cholera districts of Bermondsey; and, oh, God! what I saw! people having no water to drink—hundreds of them— but the water of the common sewer which stagnated full of...dead fish, cats and dogs, under their windows. At the time the cholera was raging, Walsh saw them throwing untold horrors into the ditch, and then dipping out the water and drinking it!"¹⁴ Manifesting the practical stress of the Christian Socialist Movement, Kingsley and his friends reacted energetically, working incessantly in the district to arrest the cholera outbreak; they even drove carts about, distributing clean drinking water to the inhabitants.¹⁵ In fact, Kingsley became so well known for his work in sanitary reform and his eagerness to instill an appreciation of the rules of public health that he was asked in the spring of 1854 to discourse before the House of Commons on the insanitary and unhygienic conditions prevalent in urban areas and on the low

remuneration of Parish Medical Officers.¹⁶ The following year he led a deputation on the issue of sanitary reform to Prime Minister Palmerston. The horrors resulting from the miasma, filthy living conditions, and drinking of putrid water, all too frequently prevalent in Victorian cities, also account for some of the most striking episodes and passages in Kingsley's social-problem novels: *Yeast* (1848), *Two Years Ago* (1857), and especially *Alton Locke* (1850).¹⁷ This latter work, purporting to be the autobiography of a working class Chartist poet, had as a principal aim the highlighting of the abominable working conditions, especially the shocking lack of hygiene, of tailors in London's West End. Kingsley, under the nom-de-plume Parson Lot, had earlier published a passionate account of the same subject in his pamphlet *Cheap Clothes and Nasty* (1850).

The disease-causing propensity of insanitary living conditions, above all the widespread usage of scummy and defiled water, is particularly stressed in *The Water-Babies*. We read that one of the good works undertaken by the mysterious Irishwoman, who was in reality Queen of all the water-babies, was "opening cottage casements, to let out the stifling air; coaxing little children away from gutters, and foul pools where fever breeds." (64-65) We are also told that the Lady of Harthover House if she had kept the children at home instead of bringing them to the seaside would have "saved the chance...of making all the children ill instead of well (as hundreds are made), by taking them to some nasty smelling undrained lodging, and then wondering how they caught scarlatina and diphtheria." (167) Kingsley well knew that it was through ignorance of proper hygiene that disease flourished, though the fact that it was ignorance rather than purposeful neglect was little consolation. As Mrs. Bedonebyasyoudid told Tom: "If you don't know that dirt breeds fever, that is no reason why the fevers should not kill you." (225) In fact, counted among the water-babies themselves are "all the little children in alleys and courts, and tumble-down cottages, who die by fever, and cholera, and measles, and scarlatina, and nasty complaints which no one has any business to have, and which no one will have some day, when folks have common sense." (221) Of course, the fact that they have had first-hand and deleterious experience of man's filthy and unhygienic ways is the reason why the rock-pools where the water-babies now live are always so clean and spotless, with the water so pure and healthy. However, they will not venture near any water polluted by humans:

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Only where men are wasteful and dirty, and let sewers run into the sea instead of putting the stuff upon the fields like thrifty reasonable souls; or throw herrings' heads and dead dog-fish, or any other refuse, into the water; or in any way make a mess upon the clean shore, there the water-babies will not come, sometimes not for hundreds of years (for they cannot abide anything smelly or foul): but leave the sea-anemones and the crabs to clear away everything, till the good tidy sea has covered up all the dirt in soft mud and clean sand, where the water-babies can plant live cockles and whelks and razor-shells and sea-cucumbers and golden-combs, and make a pretty live garden again, after man's dirt is cleared away. And that, I suppose, is the reason why there are no water-babies at any watering-place which I have ever seen. (213-214)

The ecological Kingsley's abhorrence of sullied water is also seen to good effect in the song of the river. It tells of its journey from source to sea, from a state of being clear and cool and undefiled to one of filthy pollution due to human and industrial waste, back once more to being pure, taintless, strong. The fetidness of the river must have been the norm for any water-way passing through an urban area in Victorian times:

Dank and foul, dank and foul,
By the smoky town in its murky cowl;
Foul and dank, foul and dank,
By wharf and sewer and slimy bank;
Darker and darker the further I go,
Baser and baser the richer I grow;
Who dare sport with the sin-defiled?
Shrink from me, turn from me, mother and child. (48)

It is hardly surprising that this interest in sanitation resulted in Kingsley being bestowed with the sobriquet "the apostle of cleanliness."

Kingsley fervently believed that personal cleanliness and increased sanitation were essential not only for one's physical well-being but also for one's moral and spiritual welfare. A frequent preacher of "the Gospel of godliness and cleanliness," Kingsley suggested that excessive contact with adverse and unsanitary physical conditions would render it difficult for one to lead a holy and Christian life.¹⁸ As he advised his audience in his "Second Sermon on the Cholera": "keep your children safe from all foul smells, foul food, foul water, and foul air, that they may grow

up healthy, hearty, and cleanly, fit to serve God as christened, free, and civilised Englishmen should in this great and awful time.”¹⁹ John C. Hawley has aptly observed that for Kingsley, “True human conversion...demanded not only a lively moral sense, but strong, healthy bodies as well.”²⁰ It was such conversion, the soul’s spiritual cleansing, which Kingsley also intended the oft-repeated motif of purifying by fresh water in *The Water-Babies* to allegorize.²¹ We read in the song of the river:

As I lose myself in the infinite main,
Like a soul that has sinned and is pardoned again. (49)

Tom’s transformation from filthy grimy sweep to spanking clean water-baby after his fall into the river, followed by his successful completion of hazardous trials, symbolize “the healing power of baptism” and his subsequent religious rebirth.²² Such spiritual regeneration is clearly the main message which Kingsley, more and more dismayed over the growing neglect and even ignorance of religion in large segments of English society, wished to convey in *The Water-Babies*. As he wrote to Rev. F. D. Maurice: “if I have wrapped up my parable in seeming Tom-fooleries, it is because so only could I get the pill swallowed by a generation who are not believing with anything like their whole heart, in the Living God.”²³

Certainly, Tom, as was not uncommon in one of his class, station, and education in early Victorian England, knew little if anything about religion. In the very first paragraph we are told that “He had never been taught to say his prayers. He never had heard of God, or of Christ, except in words which you never have heard, and which it would have been well if he had never heard.” (4) When he found himself in little Ellie’s sumptuous bedroom in Harthover House he had no idea what the picture of Christ on the Cross represented, imagining it to be a kinsman of the room’s occupant who has been murdered by savages in some foreign place. Resting at the dame school after escaping the mad rush of his pursuers, he determined to “go to church, and see what a church was like inside, for he had never been in one, poor little fellow, in all his life.” (62) What was worse, Tom had clearly never been baptised and he languished in the state of Original Sin. In fact, the black sooty dirt of his chimney sweep’s body mirrored the filth of his unredeemed soul. This was natural, for, as Kingsley tells us, “people’s souls make their bodies, just as a snail makes its shell.” (251)²⁴ The purity of body and soul are mutually dependent, a notion which

necessarily exacerbates Kingsley's racist dislike, all too evident in the story, of the appearances of certain peoples, especially blacks and Irish.²⁵ At any rate, Tom's drowning, "a return to prelapsarian purity," was clearly intended to be an allegory of his baptism, the water cleansing his soul of the filth of Original Sin and ignorance, while also washing his body of years of soot, dirt, and grime.²⁶ "The fairies had washed him, you see, in the swift river, so thoroughly, that not only his dirt, but his whole husk and shell had been washed quite off him, and the pretty little real Tom was washed out of the inside of it." (88)

But Kingsley also wishes to point a fundamental tenet of Christian theology, namely that though a soul becomes pure after the water of baptism, man's free will invariably plunges it again into a sinful state by wrongdoing. Still, a man can redeem himself if he truly desires by regaining and following the path of goodness and righteousness, and especially by learning the efficacy of Christian charity. This is precisely what happens "poor little heathen Tom." (99) Harkening in his fevered sleep, after his stout descent from the mountain crag, to the words of the mysterious Irishwoman, "those that wish to be clean, clean they will be," he earnestly desires to wash himself thoroughly, i.e. save his soul. "I must be clean, I must be clean," he repeats (62). Though he indeed becomes physically and spiritually clean after tumbling "into the clear cool stream" (66), the pure state of his soul does not endure long. He soon begins to tease and torture the creatures of the river and the sea. However, when he helps a lobster trapped in a pot to escape he sees the other water-babies for the first time. His good deed of Christian charity redeems him and he is rewarded. Though he falls by the wayside again and again, for example by placing stones in sea anemones' mouths and stealing Mrs. Bedonebyasyoudid's sea-lollipops and sea bullseyes, still, he always manages to return to the state of goodness, or, if you will, the state of grace. Tom's final redemption comes about by his successful completion of the long and arduous journey from river to sea to the Other-end-of-Nowhere, to help Mr. Grimes, his former nasty chimney sweep master, redeem himself. He learns from the Bunyanesque trials and tribulations of his journey the meaning of altruism and selflessness, so that he is finally regenerated as a mature man ready and willing to take his place in the Christian world.

Kingsley intended the purifying effects of the properties of water to be symbolic of changes, physical and spiritual, in more than Tom, an individual. It was high time, he was convinced, that society itself be utterly cleansed, a purification which he earnestly desired to encompass

far more than the mere improvement of hygienic and sanitary physical conditions. It should be remembered that the protean Kingsley, as well as being a poet, novelist, historian, religious writer, scientist, educationist, and cleric, was also a particularly prominent political activist and social reformer. Though as he aged he became more and more an establishment figure,²⁷ Kingsley, in common with F. D. Maurice, Thomas Hughes, John Ruskin, was strongly influenced by the tenets of Christian Socialism, a movement which had as its primary aim the social and political reform of Victorian England. Known as the "Apostle of Socialism," Kingsley, very stirred by the political events which shook Europe in 1848, even attended the Chartist demonstration in London at which he displayed a political poster signed "A Working Parson," a momentous act for an Anglican priest. Moreover, his condemnation of grave societal injustice, above all of abysmal working conditions, pervades many of his sermons, lectures, tracts, and such "social problem" novels as *Yeast* (1848), which had as one of its main themes the deplorable circumstances of England's agricultural laboring families, and *Alton Locke* (1850), which treated many of England's pervasive social problems against the background of the Chartist movement. In like manner, *The Water-Babies* was more than a *jeu d'esprit* for children; Kingsley, though his tone is understandably flippant intended it to serve as a mouthpiece for some of his most earnest views on societal issues. Above all he wished to point the moral that the English body politic should be restructured and society at large be drastically improved. His nation, just as little Tom, was in grave need of a cleansing, a purification. Though, as we have seen, Kingsley was extremely concerned about England's actual physical pollution, the degeneration of the river, once pure and uncontaminated, into something filthy, foul, and loathsome is also clearly meant as an allegory of England's decline from a glorious past into her present moral and spiritual decay. However, as the river, reaching the sea, becomes once more unpolluted and pure, so also England by the right social and political, moral and religious programme will become regenerated:

Strong and free, strong and free,
The floodgates are open, away to the sea,
Free and strong, free and strong,
Cleansing my streams as I hurry along,
To the golden sands, and the leaping bar,
And the taintless tide that awaits me afar. [49]

Tom's altruistic efforts, Mr. Grimes, are cleansed and redeemed, so also England herself can be purified, can undergo a moral and spiritual rebirth. It was to this latter cause that Kingsley devoted much of his life.

In fine, the motif of water in *The Water-Babies*, besides its obvious treatment as the natural habitat of many creatures, including the metamorphosed Tom, is also employed by Kingsley to preach the virtues of bathing and washing. And he is concerned not only with cleanliness of the body, for in common with many of his fellow Victorians he earnestly believed that washing, especially with cold water, would lead to moral rectitude. In addition, his stress on personal hygiene is closely linked to a keenness to inform his young readers that the inculcation of proper sanitary habits with water would be a particularly efficacious method of preventing disease. However, the depiction of water as a cleansing agent may also be viewed in an allegorical sense, namely as purifying morally and spiritually both the individual Tom as well as the collective society. Only after Tom's baptismal washing and consequent Christian rebirth does his deeply felt wish, "I must be clean, I must be clean," begin to be truly satisfied. Only after an analogous allegorical cleansing can any genuine regeneration of England occur.

NOTES

¹Charles Kingsley, *The Water Babies: A Fairy Tale for a Land Baby*, in *The Works of Charles Kingsley*. 28 vols. (London; New York: Macmillan, 1880-85), Vol. IX.

²Charles Kingsley, *Charles Kingsley: His Letters and Memories of his Life*, ed. by his wife. 2 vols. (London: King, 1877) II, p. 137.

³Guy Kendall, *Charles Kingsley and his Ideas* (London: Hutchinson, 1947), p. 120.

⁴For a brief treatment of the water motif in Kingsley's works see pp. 78-79 of Larry K. Uffelman, *Charles Kingsley* (Boston: Twayne, 1979).

⁵Kingsley, *Letters and Memories* I, p. 180.

⁶Mary Wheat Hanawalt, "Charles Kingsley and Science," *Studies in Philology* 34 (October 1937), 591.

⁷Kingsley, "Great Cities and their Influence for Good and Evil," in *Works* XVIII, 203.

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⁸Susan Chitty, *The Beast and the Monk: A Life of Charles Kingsley* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1974), p. 221.

⁹Kingsley, *His Letters*, II. p. 86. In 1857 he wrote to Mr. John Parker, junior: "A bit of sanitary reform work is a sacred duty, from which I dare no more turn away than from knocking down a murderer whom I saw killing a woman." [ibid., II, p. 34].

¹⁰Kingsley, "The Air-Mothers," in *Works* XVIII, 144.

¹¹In October 1859 Kingsley wrote to John Bullar: "I have refused this winter to lecture on anything but the laws of health; and shall try henceforth to teach a sound theology through physics." [*Letters and Memories* II, p. 89].

¹²ibid., II p. 109.

¹³John W. Derry, *Reaction and Reform, 1793-1868: England in the Early Nineteenth Century* (London: Blandford Press, 1963), p. 203.

¹⁴Kingsley, *Letters and Memories* I, 216.

¹⁵Robert Bernard Martin, *The Dust of Combat: A Life of Charles Kingsley* (London: Faber and Faber, 1959), pp. 111-112.

¹⁶Bruce Haley, *The Healthy Body and Victorian Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 116-117.

¹⁷A. Susan Williams, *The Rich Man and the Diseased Poor in Early Victorian Literature* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press International, 1987), passim.

¹⁸Kingsley, *Letters and Memories* II, 460.

¹⁹Kingsley, "Second Sermon on the Cholera," in *Works* XXII, p. 152.

²⁰John C. Hawley, S.J., "The Water-Babies as Catechetical Paradigm," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* 14 (Spring 1989), 21.

²¹In the words of Charles H. Muller: Tom's "yearning to be clean, to seek out the cool fresh water of the stream in his feverish condition, conveys the repentant sinner's consciousness or conviction of sin, his yearning for forgiveness and purification." [Charles H. Muller, "The Water-Babies—Moral Lessons for Children," *Unisa English Studies* 24 (May 1986), 15].

²²Tony Tanner, "Mountains and Depths—An Approach to Nineteenth-century Dualism," *Review of English Literature* III, 4 (1962), p. 54; see also Valentine Cunningham, "Soiled Fairy: The Water-Babies in its Time," *Essays in Criticism* 35 (1985), 134-135.

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²³Kingsley, *Letters and Memories* II, 137-138.

²⁴On October 12, 1862 Kingsley wrote to Professor Rolleston "that the soul of each living being down to the lowest, secretes the body thereof, as a snail secretes its shell, and that the body is nothing more than the expression in terms of matter, of the stage of development to which the being has arrived." [Kingsley, *Letters and Memories* II, 143-144].

²⁵See C. N. Manlove. *Modern Fantasy: Five Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975), pp. 40-41.

²⁶Louis Macniece, *Varieties of Parable* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), p. 85. See Jerome Hamilton Buckley. *The Victorian Temper: A Study in Literary Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1969), pp. 99-100; Manlove, *Modern Fantasy*, pp. 51-52.

²⁷As John Saul Howson, the Dean of Chester from 1867 to 1885, portrayed him after his death: "I should have described him as a mixture of the Radical and the Tory, the aspect of character which is denoted by the latter word being, to my apprehension, quite as conspicuous as that which is denoted by the former." [Kingsley, *Letters and Memories* I, 248].

FAULKNER'S *AS I LAY DYING*: THE COFFIN PICTOGRAM AND THE FUNCTION OF FORM

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Modern critics have written quite a large body of work on William Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying* and generally agree the novel is a radical experiment in terms of narration, a fusion of form and function. If this indeed is true, then what *is* the form? Is the novel simply a collection of fragments, or is there a controlling device? The latter seems more reasonable in *As I Lay Dying* because Faulkner creates an icon that represents the Bundren family structure, the narrative, and even the functional structure of the language used in the novel. This image is the pictogram of the coffin in Tull's third section. Not only does the coffin stand out as a structural symbol, but it also becomes a metaphor, a shape that is built and filled. And finally, it functions metonymically, binding together the Bundrens, the narrative, and the nature of language with what Cash would call "animal magnetism."¹ Therefore the pictogram is, in a sense, a special emblem² which not only takes on varied meanings depending on the context, but which also links the contexts themselves together.

In its basic form, the coffin pictogram is a structural symbol. Faulkner apparently wants the reader to remember the icon—he literally draws it in the text and furthermore describes its construction from the perspective of an objective onlooker, Tull. Tull states:

They had laid her in it reversed. Cash made it clock-shaped, like this



with every joint and seam

beveled and scrubbed with the plane, tight as a drum and neat as a sewing basket, and they laid her in it head to foot so it wouldn't crush her dress. (77-78)

In giving a geometric diagram, Faulkner begs the reader to notice the coffin has six sides, with perfect symmetry. Interestingly enough, there are six family members, excluding Addie: Darl, Jewel, Cash, Dewey Dell, Vardaman, and Anse. Addie, naturally, fills the coffin. One may be tempted to place the six Bundrens, according to personality, in a pattern of opposition around the coffin, for Darl and Jewel *seem* antithetical, as do Anse and Addie, but the analogy and geometry break down there. However, the fact that each member has a figurative place

around Addie is intriguing (see figure 1), for the whole narrative is set into perspective.

Just as the individual Bundrens correspond to a side of the coffin and surround Addie, the narrative also surrounds her chapter.³ One would expect, if this structural icon applies, for Addie's section to be precisely in the center of the novel. It is not. Her section is the fortieth of fifty-nine.⁴ If the non-family members' chapters are excluded from the count, Addie's chapter falls twenty-ninth out of forty-three. Her section is narratively out of balance—directly paralleling her physical situation in the coffin. Recall that Tull said, "They laid her in it reversed" (77). And Cash spends much time lamenting his carpenter's nightmare: "It wont balance. If you want it to tote and ride on a balance we will have—" (86). The fact that the body causes the coffin to be off-balance in the same manner the narrative structure is off-balance provides more insight when viewed from yet another level, the level of language, with the pictogram representing a signifier.

With the coffin shape, Faulkner has given the reader a concrete object to represent an abstract idea. The pictogram is similar to Lacan's mathematical symbol of S/s, which represents "distinct orders separated initially by a barrier resisting signification," "the signifier over the signified."⁵ However, in the case of Faulkner's icon, the relationship could be better classified as inside/outside or centered/non-centered. Lacan's point is that the Real object (the signified) never *exactly* corresponds to the representation (the signifier). Faulkner, who was influenced by the Cubists and Surrealists,⁶ makes a similar point concerning the crisis of the object in *As I Lay Dying*. That is, the shape of the exterior does not necessarily match the essence of the interior. The coffin, though painstakingly and meticulously constructed for Addie's body (just ask Cash) does not represent Addie's position: she is upside-down, de-centered.⁷ The coffin pictogram not only functions as a structural icon, but it also may be viewed as a symbol of a container (see figure 2), and this view applies to Addie as well as the other Bundrens.⁸

Hence the pictogram of the coffin also functions metaphorically in that it is a shape to be filled. Addie speaks of words, particularly the word "love," as "just a shape to fill a lack" (158). For her, words are empty—a lack of concrete reality.⁹ In fact, she describes her own body in the same manner: "I would think: The shape of my body where I used to be a virgin is in the shape of a _____ and I couldn't think *Anse*, couldn't remember *Anse*" (159). Her self-image is that of an empty container; she feels as meaningless as words which have no

Figure 1: The Bundren Family Structure

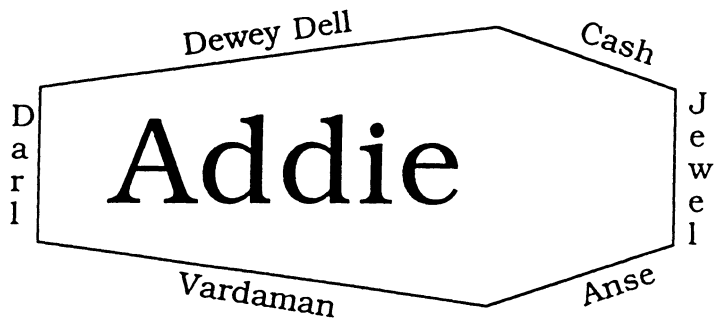
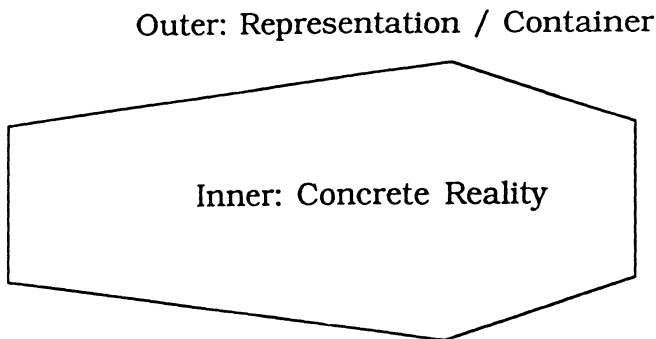


Figure 2: A Shape to be Filled



substance or action. The only way Addie is “filled” is when Anse is “in” her and when she is with child. But even that sense of being filled, Addie says, “fades away” (159).

Other Bundrens involve themselves with containers and shapes. Vardaman, the youngest in the family, creates a metaphorical shape to fill the lack Addie, his mother, left when she died. “My mother is a fish,” (74) he states. John Tucker, in his discussion of Cubism in *As I Lay Dying*, notes Vardaman has transferred the general shape of the coffin to that of a fish (Tucker, 391). Understandably, this transformation is the only manner in which the young boy can deal with the abstract concept of death.¹⁰ He has seen a fish die, and so his mother must be a fish. Dewey Dell, on the other hand, is a shape that is already filled (i.e. with a child), and she wants to empty herself (Tucker, 400). Quite possibly, this desire could be a reaction against her mother. By ridding herself of the child in her womb, Dewey Dell will no longer be identified with Addie whose only real production in life was in the form of children. As a final example of how certain characters fill shapes, Cash stoically fills the concrete container which surrounds his broken leg (Tucker, 400). But more interesting is the fact that Cash actually *builds* containers; he makes the coffin which Addie’s body fills. Paradoxically, Cash also becomes the *filler* of space on the narrative level.

Darl, when he burns down Gillespie’s barn, is sent away to the Jackson insane asylum. This creates a gap in the narrative, for Darl speaks more than any other character—a third of the novel. More importantly, Darl’s keen descriptions and almost telepathic insights have conditioned the reader to trust him. When Darl is revealed as insane, the reader scrambles to fill the lack of a poetic narrator. Fortunately, Faulkner develops Cash throughout the novel to take over Darl’s position as key narrator (Garcia Landa, 69-70). Cash’s first section in the book, as the reader may recall, is the terse list of reasons why he built Addie’s coffin “on the bevel” (73). His thoughts literally are numbered; there is no ambiguous or superfluous description. And, of course, the section is highly limited in its topic. Cash’s second and third sections are even more succinct: “It wont balance” (86) and “It wasn’t on a balance. I told them if they wanted it to tote and ride on balance, they would have to—” (151). But Cash’s later sections radically depart from the style of the former scraps of narrative. In the fourth section, for example, Cash expands his viewpoint into a colorful and sensitive portrayal of his family. He first examines the reasoning behind Darl’s commitment to the Jackson institution, then shows a

great capacity for compassion with regard to Darl's aberrant behavior. Cash says:

Sometimes I think it aint none of us pure crazy and aint none of us pure sane until the balance of us talks him that-a-way. It's like it aint so much what a fellow does, but it's the way the majority of folks is looking at him when he does it. (216)

Granted, Cash's level of diction is not the highest, but he has expressed himself much more than in the previous sections. Before, Cash only concerned himself with his own work, the coffin. Now he explains not only his *view* of the others in the family, but also his *connection* to them. Significantly, the last section in the novel is Cash's, completing the displacement of Darl as poetic narrator. Cash's final words are more objective than Darl's and, from the reader's perspective, the most reliable of the book.¹¹ Thus, Cash fills the lack Darl left in the narrative.

The metaphor of a lack to be filled, furthermore, operates on a language level. If the pictogram of the coffin expresses the structure of inner/outer or signified/signifier, then one may understand how the language in *As I Lay Dying* constantly struggles to "fill" empty words. Again, Addie provides the most candid account concerning the disparity between words and their inherent meaning, and consequently, value. She says she "learned that words are no good; that words dont ever fit even what they are trying to say at" (157). Of her conversations with Cora, Addie says, "And I would think when Cora talked to me, of how the high dead words in time seemed to lose even the significance of their dead sound" (161). Even the forms of the words dissolve for Addie. But the clearest example of how words are empty containers desperately needing to be filled with meaning is Whitfield's section. He prays:

I have sinned, O Lord. Thou knowest the extent of my remorse and the will of my spirit. But He is merciful; He will accept the will for the deed, Who knew that when I framed the words of my confession it was to Anse that I spoke them, even though he was not there. (165)

Whitfield states he "framed the words"—created the structures, the signifiers, but they were never spoken to Anse. The confession, thus, is

meaningless, empty, and absurd. The coffin functions, then, as a metaphor of a shape to be filled in several different contexts.

The last function of the coffin pictogram is metonymic, a linking together of characters, narrative, and language. The coffin itself was built on the principle of “animal magnetism,” as Cash explains in his first section:

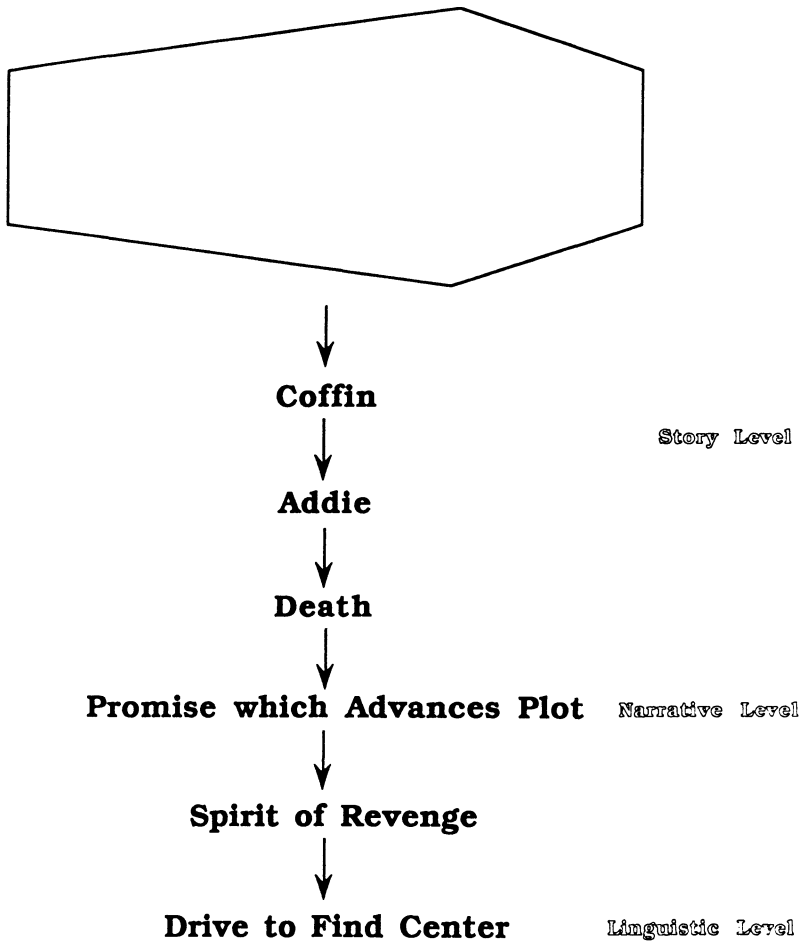
9. The animal magnetism of a dead body makes the stress come slanting, so the seams and joints of a coffin are made on the bevel. (73)

Apparently, the belief was that a body exerts magnetic forces through 360 degrees; thus, to relieve the pressure on the coffin’s joints, Cash beveled them.¹² This implies the forces emanating from the dead body pull the sides of the coffin inward. The dead body is Addie. And it is quite reasonable to say Addie holds the family and the novel together.

In a sense, all of the Bundrens are fragments of Addie, representing extremes and different sides (corresponding to sides of the coffin again) of her personality.¹³ For example, Addie does not trust words or put any faith in their meaning; Darl, antithetically, “uses words poetically” and essentially “his reality is the verbal world inside his head.”¹⁴ Addie is also the shape to be filled; Anse, however inadequately, fills Addie. And Dewey Dell is like Addie because she is pregnant, though Dewey Dell chooses to reject that identification. Vardaman similarly identifies with Addie because he thinks in concrete terms. Jewel represents the pure determination and action of Addie. And Cash, by his very namesake, is a maker, a doer in contrast to Darl, who says much but does nothing, and when he finally takes action, it is destructive, not constructive as Cash’s. So, Addie is the common link among all the characters, the force that holds the family together just like the animal magnetism that holds the coffin together. Indeed, the whole journey motif centers around Addie; without her, there would be no plot.

In this regard, the coffin pictogram represents the force by which the narrative is held together, despite the attempts of Darl to undermine the mission.¹⁵ The coffin is an object transported by the family through the water and the fire (154), but really the coffin itself is not important—it is simply a *container* for the body. The *body* is what needs to be buried in Jefferson. But then again, the body does not need to be buried, *Addie* does. A dead body can be buried anywhere, but Addie must be buried in Jefferson. Yet it is not Addie’s body that

Figure 3: The Metonymic Chain



needs to be buried, but the *spirit* of Addie's "revenge" (159). Addie wants Anse to keep his word, to make his promise *mean* something (Allen, 185). So, by metonymy, the *coffin* in the end is the *promise* exacted by Addie.¹⁶ Ironically, the metonymy progresses one step further, for Anse's new wife replaces the coffin on the return trip.¹⁷ In fact, this new wife fills the space left by the coffin, Addie's body, and Addie's spiritual revenge. And this linking together of shapes forms the effectual function of the coffin emblem in the novel.

In linguistic terms, the coffin pictogram (signifier) transforms itself into a metonymic chain that holds the novel together across levels of reading. The coffin is a physical structure as well as a metaphorical structure, but other signifiers can be substituted for the coffin. The best example is the substitution of "death" for "coffin." The metonymy exchanges the inner (death) for the outer (coffin), but neither exists apart from each other; they exist in tension with one another. In linguistic terms, the *signifier* does not hold together a larger meaning structure—the tension *between* the signifier and the signified is the bonding force. Or, in Neo-Freudian terms, this tension is the desire to find meaning, to discover true substance and identity behind the form (Morris, 122). Faulkner uses the symbol of the coffin, functioning metaphorically and metonymically, to represent this drive; the symbol denotes the filling up of space, the transference from one shape to another, and the constant fluctuation and battle for definition which unifies both horizontally (within the story itself) and vertically (on various levels of reading).

The coffin structure represents the Bundren family and the narrative. Additionally, the metaphor of a space to be filled is derived from the pictogram. Finally, a substitution of terms forms a chain of association with the pictogram being the linking force. Thus, the pictogram is a symbol which, in its basic form, arises from an interaction of the axes of metaphor and metonymy. Although the pictogram functions in the above three ways, in general, it also unifies distinct levels of context: story-level, narrative-level, and language-level (figure 3). Perhaps there are more symbols in other Faulkner texts which function in the same manner as the coffin pictogram. They await our further research.

NOTES

¹William Faulkner, *As I Lay Dying* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989), p. 73. All future references from this text will appear parenthetically.

²I use this term in the sense that David Lodge does in his book, *The Modes of Modern Writing* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1977); he refers to a symbol as a "metaphorical metonymy" (100). Of course, he bases his work upon Roman Jakobson's brief but extremely influential essay, "Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Linguistic Disturbances," which may be found in *Jakobson and Halle, Fundamentals of Language* (the Hague, 1956), beginning on page 58. For a brief sketch of Jakobson's metaphoric and metonymic pole theory, see Lodge's edited collection of literary criticism essays entitled *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader* (London: Longman, 1988), pp. 31-61.

³See John Tucker, "William Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying*: Working Out the Cubistic Bugs," *TSL* 26.1 (1984), 394-395. Tucker also states: "Both coffin and book 'contain' Addie" (400).

⁴Jose A. Garcia Landa, "Reflexivity in the Narrative Technique of *As I Lay Dying*," *ELN* 27 (1990), 70. The first note in this essay catalogues the sections in the novel.

⁵Jacques Lacan, "The Insistence of the Letter in the Unconscious," in David Lodge, ed., *Modern Criticism: A Reader* (London: Longman, 1988), p. 83.

⁶For studies on the influence of cubism in *As I Lay Dying* see John Tucker, "William Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying*: Working Out the Cubistic Bugs," *TSL* 26 (1984), 388-404, and also Watson Branch, "Darl Bundren's 'Cubistic Vision,'" *William Faulkner's As I Lay Dying: A Critical Casebook*, ed. Dianne L. Cox (New York: Garland, 1985), pp. 111-129. Branch also discusses surrealistic elements in Faulkner's work.

⁷Georgianne Potts explored Faulkner's use of Southern Black folklore in her essay "Black Images in Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying*," *UMSE* 7 (1989), 1-26. She notes that "it was traditional for the Black women in their full-skirted wedding gowns to be buried in a reversed position, head to foot, within the coffin" (2), apparently for the same reason that Addie is upside-down: so her dress would not be crushed.

⁸Tucker, 400. Also, see Willim R. Allen, "The Imagist and Symbolist Views of the Function of Language: Addie and Darl Bundren in *As I Lay Dying*," *SAF* 10 (1982), 193.

⁹Charles Palliser, "Predesination and Freedom in *As I Lay Dying*," *AL* 58 (1986), 567.

¹⁰Potts, 6. She, in turns, refers he readers to Leary's *William Faulkner of Yoknapatawpha County*, pp. 69-70.

¹¹See Judith Lockyer, "Language and the Process of Narration in Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying*," *AZQ* 43 (1987), 165-177. Lockyer concludes, "Cash's words grow increasingly literate, establishing him as the narrator we trust. His recognition of the ability to step outside the self returns the act of narration to sanity" (176).

¹²Rosemary Franklin, "Animal Magnetism in *As I Lay Dying*," *AQ* 18 (1966), 29.

¹³Wesley Morris, "The Irrepressible Real: Jacques Lacan and Poststructuralism," *American Criticism in the Poststructuralist Age*, ed. Ira Konigsburg (Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1981), p. 125.

¹⁴William R. Allen, "The Imagist and Symbolist Views of the Function of Language: Addie and Darl Bundren in *As I Lay Dying*," *SAF* 10 (1982), 188.

¹⁵Patricia R. Schroeder, "The Comic World of *As I Lay Dying*," *Faulkner and Humor*, ed. Doreen Fowler and Ann J. Abadie (Jackson: UP of Mississippi, 1986), p. 44.

¹⁶Olga Vickery, "*As I Lay Dying*," *William Faulkner: Two Decades of Criticism*, ed. Frederick J. Hoffman and Olga Vickery (East Lansing: Michigan State College P, 1951), p. 194.

¹⁷Ira Royals points out to me that Anse's new wife carries with her a graphophone (239)—presumably a box, but most definitely a container. So, in fact, the metonymy proceeds even further. Not only is the woman herself a replacement for Addie, but she brings with her a replacement for the coffin. Oddly enough, the matriarchal voice of Addie is transformed at the novel into the "new" Mrs. Bundren's music, which Tucker calls a "disembodied voice" (394). Other references to metonymy in the book may be found in Potts (see page 6) and James M. Mellard, "Lacan and Faulkner: A Post-Freudian Analysis of Humor in the Fiction," Fowler and Abadie, pp. 195-215.

**FAILED QUESTS FOR IDEAL LOVE:
JUDE THE OBSCURE AS A PARADIGM FOR THE
WILD PALMS**

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Within the decade from the publication of *The Sound and the Fury* in 1929 to that of *The Wild Palms* in 1939, heroes from various traditions of the romantic period appeared in Faulkner's work: heroes of sensitivity who suffer tragic disillusionment because of high ideals; Byronic heroes who confront a society that neither understands nor approves of them, and which, in turn, does not meet their expectations; and then a combination of the two, a tragic romantic hero who does not conform his sensitive nature to society's mundane expectations—Harry Wilbourne of *The Wild Palms*. The paradigm for this character may be Thomas Hardy's Jude Fawley.¹ The parallels which can be noted between these two heroes and the people and events which lead them both to similar destruction support a statement made by James D. Wilson in his book on *The Romantic Heroic Ideal*: speaking of Hardy's hero Jude and his lover Sue, Wilson writes, "[w]hile an antiquated and repressive social structure aggravates their problem, the problem is one which transcends nineteenth-century England" (113). Indeed, the tragedy of *The Wild Palm's* Harry and Charlotte takes place in the American South in the twentieth century and is brought about in part by a repressive society.

Like Jude Fawley, Harry Wilbourne is an orphan who was left in the care of a relative. In spite of growing up fatherless, both young men follow in their fathers' footsteps: Jude into a bad marriage, and Harry into the medical profession. In the beginning of Faulkner's novel, the reader learns that Harry leads a "monastic life" (32) until his twenty-seventh birthday. Such celibacy is a result, like Jude's, from a lack of opportunity. Harry has been too busy striving to become a doctor. His "constant battle ...[to] balanc[e] his dwindling bank account against the turned pages of his text books" (32) leaves no time or energy for unrelated pursuits. In addition, routine, however much hard work it involves, is easier than commitment.² So, prior to the fateful birthday, women have not existed for Harry any more than they have for the inexperienced Jude, until some time after the latter's nineteenth year, when his myopic vision on studying in Christminster is temporarily distracted by his meeting of and shortly ensuing marriage to Arabella.

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Harry, too, suddenly finds himself with a new vision, to which he briefly seems to wish to aspire. On the aforementioned birthday, at the home of an artist, Harry is struck by the apparent leisure time and the obvious presence of money implied by his surroundings, the ideas of both being foreign to his experience:

Wilbourne stood before the paintings in complete absorption. It was not at what they portrayed, the method or the coloring; they meant nothing to him. It was in a bemusement without heat or envy at a condition which could supply a man with the obvious leisure and means to spend his days painting such as this and his evenings playing the piano and feeding liquor to people whom he ignored and (in one case, at least) whose names he did not even bother to catch. (38)

The appeal of this setting to the workworn Harry is similar to the appeal of Christminster, where there is “‘nothing but learning, except religion’ ” (23), to the young Jude who finds that the countryman’s hard life goes against his nature, particularly such farming duties as keeping birds from eating a crop, and the butchery of a pig raised by his own gentle hand. Jude had noted as a child that “[g]rowing up brought responsibilities;” and so he wished “he could...prevent himself [from] growing up” (15). He does not want to become the man the Marygreen populace expects him to be. This desire for perpetual youth is replaced by his slightly less unrealistic ambition to escape the strictly socially ordered world of Marygreen for the more highly ordered world of the Christminster university. This dream, he soon realizes, is almost as unattainable as eternal youth, but by this time Jude has manifested his ideal in his cousin Sue. Similarly, as he stands before the paintings in wonder, Harry is distracted from his sudden grasp of the benefits of a life of wealth and leisure by another kind of seemingly less toilsome and tedious life than the one he is presently living—a life with the exciting Charlotte Rittenmeyer.

Charlotte sees in Harry, too, an escape from her unsatisfactory existence with her husband and two children.³ In order to keep from cheapening her new love relationship, which she perceives has much more potential for being life-giving than her marriage, Charlotte perversely keeps her husband informed of every phase of her affair with Harry, including the arranging and failure of their first tryst and their plans to run away together. In this novel then, as in Hardy’s, one finds what Faulkner’s narrator refers to as “the paradoxical act of handing the

wife to the lover" (54). Such an act establishes Rittenmeyer's kinship with Sue's husband Phillotson.⁴ Both men appear resigned to their own powerlessness against an intimacy, though not yet consummated in either case, already stronger than anything they share with their wives. Their sense of defeat is evident in their (unaccepted) offerings of money to their spouses. They cannot fight something they do not understand. The result of such weak submission to their wives' requests to be set free is that the reader is sympathetic with the adulterous women's wish to escape their marriages. Phillotson and Rittenmeyer's monetary offerings, together with their admonishments to the lovers to take care not to hurt their wives, show their perception of a husband's duties: the protection of the wife's financial and physical well-being. Such a view of a marriage relationship reveals much to the reader as to why neither husband could ever have or even comprehend the kind of love to which he has been forced to be a witness, a love which is doomed by its opposition to all social conventions, as well as by its being conducive to much undesirable (in the husbands' opinions) emotional trauma.⁵

The uncompromising sense of their role as husband leads the reader to understand that both Phillotson and Rittenmeyer would take their wives back, with little or no hesitation. At the end of *Jude the Obscure*, Phillotson proves this notion to be so, though he does suggest that their marriage from that point on be a marriage in name only (possibly to defend himself against any further personal humiliation, as that which he suffered when Sue jumped out of the window to escape his embrace). Sue's presence in his home allows his life to get back on a socially productive track—and this is all he asks. Faulkner's Rittenmeyer does not answer Harry's amazed question, " 'You will take her back?' " since, as even Harry realizes, " 'That's more than any man can bear to answer,' " particularly if the answer is affirmative, which is suggested by his leaving Harry "a cashier's check for three hundred dollars, payable to the Pullman Company of America and indorsed in the corner in red ink: 'For one railroad ticket to New Orleans' " (57).

Sue and Charlotte are in pursuit of an idea of love, which they feel can be achieved through the men who have gone along with them against the limiting conventions of society. Consequently, Jude and Harry feel somewhat used as the means to an end. From Sue's unwillingness to live as husband and wife with Jude during the first year of their cohabitation, Jude infers that she is " 'incapable of real love' " (289). Conversely, yet ironically analogous to this conclusion,

Harry discerns from Charlotte's immediate and constant uninhibited sexual demands of him that "[t]here's a part of her that doesn't love anybody, anything" (82). Both Jude and Harry are right to a certain extent. Sue and Charlotte want nothing about their relationships to resemble marriage. In his discussion of romantic love, Cleanth Brooks explains that "[d]omesticity and everyday living threaten to dim the clear flame of romantic love" (*Toward* 215). In this light, Sue's desire to " 'go on living always as lovers...only meeting by day' " (311) does not support the notion that she is frigid; rather, her reluctance towards a sexual relationship is explained: she does not want to risk losing the intensity of their relationship, intensity achieved by its never being completely satisfied. It should be noted that once their love is consummated and Jude discontinues pressuring Sue into marriage, theirs appears to be a satisfactory sex life—as made evident by their open affection at the fair (which will be discussed later) and, of course, by their three children.

Charlotte's demand for " 'all honeymoon, always' " (83) is ironically based on essentially the same wishes for a superior love relationship. Although critics accuse her as often of nymphomania as critics accuse Sue of frigidity, Charlotte is not just after an exciting sex life in her relationship with Harry. She, too, desires a love which transcends social conventions—according to Brooks, a

kind of love [which] is purely a relationship between individuals...not social or communal. It regards marriage and all other social arrangements as inimical; yet far from being merely fleshly, it is intensely idealistic and spiritual. It stands at the opposite pole from the casual enjoyment of sex ("Tradition" 269).⁶

Once they grasp what their lovers are aspiring to, both men join the quest. The reader can infer Jude's commitment from Mary Jacobus's interpretation of the couple's "restless movement from place to place, in search of work and the right to live by a private code of morals." Jacobus says that "[t]hey recoil from the cynical forms of civilized marriage and the unthinking bourgeois ritual enacted in the name of religion" (317, emphasis added). This is the same religion that led Jude to settle in Christminster in order to study. Clearly, then, he has exchanged his dream for Sue's. Faulkner's lovers also move about restlessly. At first these moves are instigated by Charlotte, and Harry shows some reluctance. In the cabin between stints in Chicago, for example, he makes a calendar in order to keep track of time, thereby not

allowing himself to transcend time through love. And, whereas Charlotte is pleased that the neighbor can tell that they are not married, Harry is annoyed. Also during this first time in Chicago, Charlotte lashes out at Harry in disgust for worrying too much like a husband: “ ‘My God, I never in my life saw anybody try as hard to be a husband as you do’ ” (116). However, later in the novel, back in Chicago for a second stay, it is Harry who is disgusted by their behavior, which is conforming to meet society’s demand: “ ‘I used to have to watch myself each time so I would be sure to say “my wife” or “Mrs. Wilbourne,” then I discovered I had been watching myself for months to keep from saying it’ ” (132). His actions following this disclosure prove his allegiance to the quest. As summed up by Lynn Gartrell Levins, although

[i]t is Charlotte who initiates Harry into a life lived in accord with a romantic ideal,...under [her] tutelage...Harry gradually commits himself...His is the long diatribe against bourgeois respectability, his too the decision to leave Chicago, since in becoming a part of a routine of work, of being paid for work which leaves them no time for one another, they are becoming a part of that very system (135-36),

which they had risked so much to escape. They, too, then, pack up and leave, in spite of the threat of ending up penniless and hungry.⁷

This rebellious move to a mining job in Utah, which Harry feels will not be conducive to a routine existence of separate jobs and separate schedules, revives their goal of striving for absolute love. And once again they are unmistakably perceived as unmarried by those around them. The conversation between Mrs. Buckner and Charlotte, upon the lovers’ arrival in Utah, emphasizes the negative view of marriage in this novel:⁸

“You and him aint married, are you?...you can just tell somehow.”

“...I hope you don’t mind, since we’re going to live in the same house together.”

“Why should I? Me and Buck wasn’t married for a while either. But we are now all right...And I’ve got it [the marriage license] put away good too. Even Buck don’t know where....it don’t do a girl any harm to be safe....Make him marry you....It’s better that way” (179-80).

This conversation echoes a scene from Hardy's novel in which Arabella tells Sue,

"Life with a man is more business-like after it [marriage], and money matters work better. And...if you have rows, and he turns you out of doors, you can get the law to protect you...And if he bolts away from you...you'll have the sticks o' furniture, and won't be looked upon as a thief" (324).

Again, both novels portray marriage as a socio-economic contract rather than as a declaration of love and personal commitment. Consequently, both central couples are all the more driven to absolute dedication to the ideal and rejection of the mundane. Jude and Sue fail to go through with their plans to marry (plans made for appearance's sake because of the arrival of Jude's son to live with them). Harry and Charlotte consciously struggle against even *appearing* married; as a result, when they make their last stop in Mississippi, the doctor who has rented a cabin to the lovers comments to himself, "I dont think they are married. Oh, he says they are and I dont think he is lying about her and maybe he aint even lying about himself. The trouble is, they aint married to each other; she aint married to him. Because I can smell a husband" (8). Clearly the doctor's remarks support Sue's notion that marriage thwarts love. Again, too, his observation of the couple echoes Arabella's similar comments upon observing Jude and Sue together at the fair: "'I fancy they are not married, or they wouldn't be so much to one another as that' " (352). The reader can infer from this remark that Jude and Sue have also taken no pains to conform their behavior in public in imitation of the behavior of the married couples of the area—even if they do, as do Harry and Charlotte, pose as "Mr. and Mrs."

Both quests are unfortunately doomed to failure. As Jean Brooks points out in reference to *Jude the Obscure*, "[o]nly the animal and unaspiring survive in an unimaginative world." Citing examples like the scene just mentioned in which Arabella witnesses the unique closeness between Jude and Sue, Brooks notes the transitory nature of the lovers' goal: "The ideal vision appears only in flashes at temporary halting places." Such ephemerality, Brooks believes, suggests a weakness which will inevitably allow "into prominence the forces that will crush individuality: Arabella (sex), Phillotson (convention) and Jude's son Little Father Time, whose name suggests the impersonal abstraction which assimilates human endeavor to general non-existence" (261). Put simply, the ideal cannot be attained in this world. An

additional weakness in the pursuit can be perceived in what Michael Hassett notes as the “problems inherent in a ‘Romantic’ approach to actual life...[for example,] that a consistent Romantic response to every day experience simply cannot be maintained” (432). This opinion can be supported with the ultimate consequences of the refusal of Hardy’s lovers to conform.⁹ Their unconventional living arrangement results in their being driven from one town to another to find work in order to feed their growing family. Just before the family is about to be turned out of yet another dwelling place, Father Time kills the other two children and then himself—“‘because we are too menny’” (405).¹⁰ The shock causes Sue to lose the baby she is carrying as well. Consequently, the reader is left with a sense of the destructive nature of the quest, defined thus by Mary Jacobus: “The death of the children is the price Sue and Jude have to pay for their sexual fulfillment in the face of a hostile society” (318).¹¹

The conclusion of *The Wild Palms* confirms the universality of both the transient and the destructive nature of idealism in this world. It is only a matter of time for Harry and Charlotte, too, before they are forced to confront the natural consequences of their love—the conception of a child. Charlotte, however, refuses to do so, and asks Harry to end her pregnancy. Ironically, as Carl Galharn notes, Charlotte is thereby “repudiating...the only ultimate proof of love” (143). Charlotte tells Harry, “ ‘I can starve and you can starve but not it’ ” (205) to justify the abortion,¹² never considering modifying their vision to include their child. Much of the critical response to Charlotte’s abortion views her motives as too selfish-centered and thereby testifies to the notion that such selfishness lessens the reader’s sympathy towards Charlotte’s thwarted desires. Panthea Reid Broughton interprets Charlotte’s desire to terminate her pregnancy as proving her ideal vision to be “as rigid and life denying as any traditional concept she rejects.” Broughton further judges that “[w]henver human life is sacrificed to an abstract ideal, man’s deference to concepts becomes indeed pernicious” (144). Doreen Fowler also remarks on “idealism’s anti-life quality” within this work: “So that their love should be free from any restriction or qualification, the lovers abrogate every attachment to their fellow man. Charlotte [has already] abandon[ed] her husband [and] children, and [now she] attempts to separate herself from her unborn child” (67).¹³ Although Dieter Meindl “do[es] not think that a condemnation of the lovers by the critic for the destruction of human life is a wholly adequate response,” noting for support “the plain fact that they cannot afford a child,” he does agree

that “[w]e may react in this manner to the remnant of Charlotte’s concept of romantic love which makes her rebel at the thought of someone coming in between her and her lover” (91).

Summing up the consequences of the romantic quest in *The Wild Palms*, Fowler writes, “The pursuit of an ideal leads finally to death, abortion, and imprisonment” (67). The parallels with *Jude the Obscure* are clear: in Hardy’s novel, first of all, innocent children are also sacrificed; secondly, Jude’s death, like Charlotte’s, results from the failure of the dream; and finally, Sue, too, is a virtual prisoner, albeit self-imposed. Her return to Phillotson’s home and bed is, in this light, comparable with Harry’s refusal to end his incarceration with the cyanide Charlotte’s husband offers him. Despite the identification here of Harry with Sue and Charlotte with Jude, both men are, in the end, still honoring the vision, whereas both women ultimately betray it. Jude dies as a result of making one last effort to convince Sue to continue their romantic pursuit. Such a confirmation of the worth of the goal would have meant that their children did not die in vain, and thereby purge their guilt somewhat. Sue’s refusal, then, is a denouncement of the vision. Like Jude, Harry mourns the failure of the ideal, calling it a “waste....It seemed so little, so little to want, to ask” (324). So he chooses to live, also acknowledging the value of the vision by his refusal to give it up to oblivion:

*“when she became not then half of memory became not
and if I become not then all of remembering will cease
to be—Yes, he thought, between grief and nothing I
will take grief”* (324).

The vision, he feels is worth all of the consequences; so he will gladly pay for his actions. Therefore, although the romantic quest for ideal love is initiated in each novel by the woman, it is the man who emerges as the romantic hero. Both Jude and Harry realize that it is not the vision which is flawed, but the secular realm in which they have pursued it. (After all, isn’t tainted idealism a contradiction?) Jude believes in the value of the love he shared with Sue. He feels that the failure was because “ ‘the time was not ripe for us! Our ideas were fifty years too soon to be any good to us. And so the resistance they met with brought reaction in her, and recklessness and ruin on me!’ ” (484). According to Faulkner, however, the twentieth century brought no society more receptive to such ideals, for in his hero Harry Wilbourne’s eyes, “There is no place for [Love] in the world today” (136).

NOTES

¹According to Joseph Blotner's catalogue of Faulkner's library, Faulkner did own a copy of *Jude the Obscure* (67). Of course, one cannot conclude from ownership that he actually read the novel. However, according to Blotner, there is one "reliable indication in the books themselves as to which of them William Faulkner used," and that is the inscription (8). And Faulkner did put his signature inside of his copy of *Jude*.

²Lynn Gartrell Levins believes that "[b]efore [Harry] meets Charlotte he chooses to repudiate love because he feels by doing so it will give him peace, leave him free to float" (138). David Minter also notes that "[w]hen [Harry] meets Charlotte Rittenmeyer he is still a virgin, whose clear intention is to make each day a replica of the one before" (172).

³David Minter apparently agrees that Charlotte's attraction to Harry comes out of her dissatisfaction with her husband:

As a girl she has read stories of romantic love....To [her] expectations, her marriage to an ordinary businessman is a mockery. What she wants, furthermore, is precisely what she sees the better part of Harry as wanting: deliverance from mundane existence through discovery of a grand, consuming love (172).

⁴In his recent book *From Hardy to Faulkner*, John Rabbetts comments on Hardy's passive rejected husband:

the decision of Jude and Sue to live together, and Phillotson's resolution not to oppose them, are brave actions which allow all three to attain new and radical flashes of insight into the flawed workings of society, but only at the cost of inexorable social exclusion and hostility (94).

He then notes briefly the parallel between the triangles in this novel and *The Wild Palms* (94).

⁵David Minter says that Rittenmeyer cannot understand the willingness to "sacrifice security, respectability, and money for love" (171). The same can be said of Phillotson. Subsequently, what Lenmart Bjork sums up as Hardy's objections to marriage, as they are revealed in *Jude the Obscure*, can be applied to both novels:

the sacrament of marriage is tainted by financial motives; it infringes on personal liberty; it distorts and corrupts both physical and spiritual love; it co-operates with inadequate socio-economic criteria, thus preventing the emergence of a more far-reaching and humane social morality (100).

⁶In another source of Cleanth Brooks's criticism on *The Wild Palms*, he defines "the romantic love that Charlotte holds"

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thus: "In romantic love...the lovers discover a transcendent element. Neither is interested in simply possessing the beloved one's body; nor is his or her desire fulfilled in the sexual act" (*Towards* 214). Also in support of this interpretation of Charlotte's desires, Levins notes "[h]ow much their relationship is elevated above the fleshly [which] is evidenced by the fact that they do not consummate their love in the dingy hotel room...Neither do they have sexual relations in the cabin in Utah" (135), a one room cabin which they share with another couple who do not curb their sexual activity in spite of the lack of privacy. Minter apparently concurs as well. He explains that although

Charlotte detests institutions...and has no interest in the marriage of mere minds, however noble...the lust that becomes the marvel of her life is finally true passion. She rages against all limitation, especially the twin enemies of love—society and time—just as she dreams of a union so perfect that desire is transcended, silencing all emotion and stilling all motion (173-74).

⁷Cleanth Brooks explains their giving up of financial security at length:

Charlotte and Harry are convinced that any compromise with bourgeois standards will smudge and tarnish their love....[They] are subsiding into the very horror that they had renounced....So, in their dedication and in their commitment to an ideal, [they] leave their life in Chicago to preserve their love unsullied from the world ("Tradition" 269).

Harry's insistence that they leave concurs with the second half of Cleanth Brooks's definition of romantic love: "the proof of the purity of one's devotion to her or him is the fact that the lover has no worldly end in view. For the sake of the beloved, the lover dares to defy all prohibitions" (*Toward* 215), Harry thereby illustrates his commitment to Charlotte's quest.

⁸Again the reader's sympathy for the characters is reinforced, this time by the reader's understanding of the naïveté of their idealism and by this negative view of marriage. As Cleanth Brooks writes of *The Wild Palms*, Faulkner "expects us to acknowledge their folly. They are pursuing an impossible goal; they ask of human life a great deal more than it can provide. Yet Faulkner surely expects us to be sympathetic with their repudiation of a world that is not committed to anything" (*Toward* 219).

⁹Rabbetts again makes a brief comparison between the two couples: listing Faulkner's characters who "continue struggling against their social environment even though it eventually helps to destroy them," he includes the lovers of *The Wild Palms*, and then mentions Jude among Hardy's characters who do the same (102).

¹⁰A comparison can be made between the proprietors' worry about the reputation of their house after the tragedy and

the doctor's wife's similar concern. Upon realizing that Charlotte is dying of an abortion administered by Harry, she tells her husband not to call the police, but to get the culprits out of their cabin.

¹¹Therefore, according to Jacobus, the concern of the novel in the end turns from the conflict between the lovers and society to "the conflict between personal freedom and human commitment" (313).

¹²Jacobus discusses this closing vision in terms applicable to the message in Hardy's novel. She writes that "Hardy is not simply concerned to show the tragic defeat of exceptional individuals at the hands of society....Nature also conspires against them. Fulfilling natural laws, they have to face natural consequences" (317).

¹³Laurie Bernhardt sums up the flaw within Faulkner's lovers' romantic quest thus: "Charlotte's ideal of love, for all its passion and sacrifice, is in essence a sterile one, because it is an abstraction that can be only briefly embodied in the flesh of worthy lovers, and cannot, therefore endure" (359)—particularly if those lovers prove themselves "unworthy" by such selfishness.

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MYTHIC IMAGES IN CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN'S *ORMOND*

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A feminist reading of Charles Brockden Brown can be traced as far back as Margaret Fuller's remark that "it increases our own interest in Brown that a prophet in this respect of a better era, he has usually placed his thinking royal mind in the body of a woman ...a conclusive proof that the term feminine is not a synonym for weak" (Fuller 63). Though in a more recent article Fritz Fleischman admits that *Ormond* is a novel about "sexual politics," he gives a cursory treatment at best to these issues in the novel (Fleischman 33). The Demeter/Kore myth provides a useful framework for exploring feminist issues in *Ormond*. Ormond's abduction and attempted rape of Constantia corresponds in mythology to Hades' abduction and rape of Persephone. The rape trauma thus portrayed disrupts the green world. Sophia assumes the role of Demeter in the novel in overcoming the disturbance and rescuing her friend. According to Annis Pratt in *Archetypal Patterns in Women's Fiction*, "the ritual of following the road that Demeter took in her grief and triumph creates a transformation or rebirth of the personality in the participant...the transformational power derived from the relationship of women to each other" (Pratt 171). The reuniting of daughter with mother in the Demeter myth is portrayed in *Ormond* in the transformation of the heroine's personality through the matriarchal figure of Sophia. Constantia's personality is reborn or transformed through contact with Sophia who assumes the dominant or controlling voice in the novel. Sophia makes herself a locus of power through assimilating maternal roles. As in the Demeter/Kore materials the mother and daughter goddesses mingle identities: "The succeeding three days were spent in a state of dizziness and intoxication. The ordinary functions of nature were lost amidst the impetuositities of a master passion" (*Ormond* 207). What has been described as the "unhealthy aspects" of the Sophia/Constantia relationship (Ringe 60) can be explained in a more positive light as a reenactment of the Demeter/Kore myth.

The Demeter/Kore archetype as a controlling motif in *Ormond* argues for unity and coherence in the novel and provides new insight into the interaction between the major characters—Constantia, Sophia and Ormond. Because Jean Bolen's *Goddesses in Every Woman* deals with the Demeter/Kore archetype as it appears in classical mythology and in modern theories of personality development, it seems particularly

relevant for discussing this archetypal pattern in *Ormond*. Jean Bolen describes Persephone as “the most formless and indistinct of the seven goddesses...as characterized by a lack of direction...” (GEW 215). As Bolen explains, Persephone the Kore, or “nameless maiden,” is the stage of life when a woman is young, uncertain and full of possibilities (GEW 204). Constantia’s youth is suggested in the depiction of her as one whose “sphere of observation had been narrow...” (Ormond 62-63). Constantia’s Persephone-like lack of direction is implied in the portrayal of her as one whose “perceptions were vague and obscure” (Ormond 149). Craig, who had worked for her father and betrayed him, describes her as a dreamer: “Just the dreamer she ever was!...One would think she’d learned something of the world by this time” (Ormond 80). Her youth and formlessness are intimated in the comments on her defect in regard to religion: “All opinions in her mind were mutable...” (Ormond 149). Martinette comments on Constantia’s sheltered life and inexperience as she describes her as one who “grew and flourished like a frail mimosa, in the spot where destiny had planted you” (Ormond 160) and “You [Constantia] sitting all your life in peaceful corners, can scarcely imagine that variety of hardship and turmoil which attends a female who lives in a camp” (Ormond 167). Constantia, whose ideas respecting revolutions and wars were “indefinite and vague,” “could not but derive humiliation from comparing her own slender acquirements with those of her companion [Martinette]” (Ormond 158). Constantia is formless and indistinct like Persephone in “her disconnected situation” (Ormond 191). She has “no social ties...to hold her to America” (Ormond 175).

According to Bolen “Prior to her abduction, Persephone was a child-woman, unaware of her sexual attractiveness and her beauty” (GEW 201). Constantia in her celibate state remains a child-woman in the novel, unaware of her sexual attractiveness and her beauty, though she has suitors. As Bolen explains, “as long as she is psychologically the Kore, her sexuality is unawakened,” and “...she lack[s] a sense of herself as a sensual or sexual woman” (GEW 202). This lack of a sense of herself as a sensual or sexual woman is apparent in Constantia’s attitude toward marriage. As Bolen explains, “as long as a woman’s attitudes are those of Persephone the Kore, she will...resist marriage because she sees it from the archetypal perspective of the maiden for whom the model of marriage is death. From the standpoint of Persephone, marriage was an abduction by Hades, the death bringer. This view of marriage and husband was quite different from Hera’s contrasting model of marriage as fulfillment...” (GEW 216).

Constantia follows the pattern of Persephone in resisting marriage: "Marriage included vows of irrevocable affection and obedience. It was a contract to endure for life. To form this connection in extreme youth, before time had unfolded and modelled the character of the parties, was, in her opinion, a proof of pernicious and opprobrious temerity. Not to perceive the propriety of delay in the case, or to be regardless of the motives that would enjoin upon a deliberate procedure, furnished an unanswerable objection to any man's pretensions" (*Ormond* 18), and "She had no design of entering into marriage in less than seven years from this period" (*Ormond* 19). When her suitor rejects her after the loss of her father's fortune, she remains emotionally neutral: "Not a single hope, relative to her own condition, had been frustrated....This change in her condition she treated lightly and retained her cheerfulness unimpaired" (*Ormond* 19). When the decent Balfour rescues her from ruffians and offers her marriage, she rejects the proposal despite her dire economic straits, concluding that "so far from possessing property, she herself would become the property of another" (*Ormond* 69).

According to Bolen, "if Persephone provides the structure of the personality it predisposes a woman not to act but to be acted upon by others—to be compliant in action and passive in attitude" (*GEW* 199). As Bolen explains, "sometimes the father is the dominating and intrusive parent who fosters the dependent daughter" (*GEW* 200). Constantia appears in the novel as a compliant daughter who is influenced in her tastes, interests and values to a great degree by the views and interests of her father: "The education of Constantia had been regulated by the peculiar views of her father, who sought to make her, not alluring and voluptuous, but eloquent and wise. He therefore limited her studies to Latin and English. Instead of familiarizing her with the amorous effusions of Petrarcha and Racine, he made her thoroughly conversant with Tacitus and Milton. Instead of making her a practical musician or pencilist, he conducted her to the school of Newton and Hartley, unveiled to her the mathematical properties of light and sound, taught her as a metaphysician and anatomist, the structure and power of the senses and discussed with her the principles and progress of human society" (*Ormond* 27). The influence of the father is apparent as well in her lack of religion: "This defect in her character she owed to her father's system of education. Mr. Dudley was an adherent to what he conceived to be true religion. No man was more passionate in his eulogy of his own form of devotion and belief, or in his invective against atheistical dogmas; but he reflected that religion assumed many forms, only one of which is salutary or true, and that

truth in this respect is incompatible with infantile and premature instruction. To this subject it was requisite to apply the force of a mature and unfettered understanding. For this end he labored to lead away the juvenile reflections of Constantia from religious topics, to detain them in the paths of history and eloquence—to accustom her to the accuracy of geometrical deduction, and to the views of those evils that have flowed in all ages from mistaken piety” (*Ormond* 148).

According to Bolen, “his [the father’s] overcontrolling attitude may also be deceptive, covering a too-close emotional attachment to his daughter” (*GEW* 200). During her father’s lifetime Constantia has an extremely close emotional relationship with him: “He [her father] never reflected on his relation to her without rapture” (*Ormond* 144). Hence she remains somewhat insulated in the patriarchal circle: “It may be asked if a woman of this character did not attract the notice of the world. Her station no less than her modes of thinking excluded her from the concourse of the opulent and gay. She kept herself in privacy; her engagements confined to her own fireside and her neighbors enjoyed no means of penetrating through that obscurity in which she wrapped herself...it so happened that her hours were for a long period, enlivened by no companion but her father and her faithful Lucy” (*Ormond* 65).

In the Demeter/Kore myth, according to Bolen, Persephone is associated with symbols of fertility—grain and corn (*GEW* 197). Constantia like Persephone takes on these associations in the novel as she assumes the role of provider of food and sustenance for her family with a substance based on Indian meal during the plague. Her father’s story of a Benedictine who survived a plague by restricting his diet to water and pollenta leads Constantia to a creative solution to the problem of how to survive the plague: “These facts now occurred to Constantia’s reflections with new vividness and led to interesting consequences. Pollenta and hasty pudding or samp, are preparations of the same substance—a substance which she needed not the experience of others to convince her was no less grateful then nutritive. Indian meal was procurable at ninety cents per bushel. By recollecting former experiments, she knew that this quantity, with no accompaniment but salt, would supply wholesome and plentiful food for four months to one person....Three persons were now to be supplied with food, and this supply could be furnished during four months, at the trivial expense of three dollars....Infallible security was thus provided against hunger. This was the only care that was urgent and immediate. While they had food and were exempt from disease, they could live, and were not without their portion of comfort” (*Ormond* 46).

In classical mythology Demeter was worshipped as a mother goddess, specifically as a mother of the maiden Persephone. The Sophia/Constantia relationship in *Ormond* reenacts the Demeter/Kore archetype as Sophia assumes the maternal role in relation to Constantia who "worships" her as a "mother goddess" or Madonna. The reader is told that the picture Constantia possesses of Sophia is a source of idolatry: "Its power over her sensations was similar to that possessed by a beautiful Madonna over the heart of a juvenile enthusiast. It was the mother of the only devotion which her education had taught her to consider as beneficial or true" (*Ormond* 61). As Bolen points out, although other goddesses such as Hera and Aphrodite were also mothers, her daughter was Demeter's most significant relationship (*GEW* 17). Sophia informs the reader that despite her recent marriage "it was my inflexible purpose to live and die with her [Constantia]" (*Ormond* 191). For the Demeter woman, according to Bolen, "marriage in itself is not an overriding priority" (*GEW* 184). As Bolen explains, "when Demeter is the strongest element in a woman's personality, her sexuality is usually not very important" (*GEW* 183). Though Sophia has recently married Courtland, because of her separation from Constantia everything looks bleak and barren to her; the world is devoid of meaning. Sophia assumes the role of Demeter in becoming a personification of the grieving mother who searches in vain over the earth for Persephone/Constantia when they are separated: "there passed not a day or an hour in which the image of Constantia was not recalled," and "(t)he destiny of Constantia was uppermost in my thoughts" (*Ormond* 189, 190). Money is valued in that it will enable her to reunite with Constantia: "There is scarcely any good so dear to a rational being as competence...but this acquisition was valuable chiefly as it enabled me to reunite my fate to that of Constantia" (*Ormond* 190). As in the Demeter/Kore myth, the grieving mother Sophia is ultimately reunited with her eternally maiden daughter Constantia and ceases being depressed: "To look and to talk to each other afforded enchanting occupation for every moment. I would not part from her side, but ate slept, walked and mused and read, with my arm locked in hers, and with her breath fanning my cheek" (*Ormond* 207) and "Henceforth, the stream of our existence was to mix; we were to act and to think in common..." (*Ormond* 208).

According to Bolen, the Demeter woman "may be possessive of her Persephone if she fears that she may lose her...she may foster dependence and exclusiveness..." (*GEW* 181). Sophia fosters dependence and exclusiveness in relation to Constantia, which leads to a

stage in which Constantia becomes Persephone the pawn, the object to be possessed in a power struggle between Ormond, who appears in the novel as an archetypal Hades figure, and her Demeter “mother” Sophia. Sophia in her role as Demeter is appalled by the attentions of Ormond to Constantia. She expresses strong disapproval of his personality, character and background. Sophia regards Ormond, the “competitor in her affections” for Constantia with “aversion and fear”: “I could not but harbor aversion to a scheme which should tend to sever me from Constantia, or to give me a competitor in her affections. Besides this, the properties of Ormond were of too mysterious a nature to make him worthy of acceptance. Little more was known concerning him than what he himself had disclosed to the Dudleys, but this knowledge would suffice to invalidate his claims” (*Ormond* 208). Sophia perceives Ormond as a potential adversary in her relationship with her Persephone daughter Constantia: “It was not difficult to exhibit, in their true light, the enormous errors of this man, and the danger of prolonging their discourse. Her assent to accompany me to England was readily obtained” (*Ormond* 209). In her adversarial role with Ormond, Sophia is determined “to put an end to the views and expectations of Ormond...” (*Ormond* 210), and “I had always believed the character and machinations of Ormond to be worthy of caution and fear” (*Ormond* 217).

Ormond assumes the role of Hades in the novel most dramatically by abducting and attempting to rape Constantia. From his earliest appearance in the novel, however, Ormond assumes the archetypal personality pattern of Hades. According to Bolen, Hades was also called the “rich one” and his realm was a source of underground wealth (*Gods in Every Man* 104). Ormond’s power is associated with his ill-gotten riches which he bestows on Constantia and her father: “It was to him that she was indebted for her father’s restoration to sight, and to whom both owed, essentially, though indirectly, their present affluence” (*Ormond* 146). In classical mythology, as Bolen explains, Hades was noted for his invisibility as well as his wealth: “the god wore a cap of invisibility and thus was an unseen presence” (*GEM* 111). Ormond becomes “invisible,” that is, an unseen presence, in much of the novel through the disguises he assumes: “There was a method of gaining access to families and marking them in their unguarded attitudes, more easy and effectual than any other; it required least preparation and cost least pains; the disguise, also, was of the most impenetrable kind” (*Ormond* 110) “...he had frequently swept his own chimney, without the knowledge of his own servants. It was likewise true, though

equally incredible, that he had played at romps with his scullion, and listened with patience to a thousand slanders on his own character" (*Ormond* 111). "...*(B)y* this mode Ormond had effectively concealed himself" (*Ormond* 112). Ormond's "invisibility" empowers him by giving him access to the privacy of others. Because of his "invisibility" he is able to intrude as an "unseen presence" or a secret witness between Sophia and Constantia: "Her interviews and conversations with me took place at seasons of general repose, when all doors were fast and avenues shut, in the midst of silence and in the bosom of retirement. The theme of our discourse was commonly, too sacred for any ears but our own; disclosures were of too intimate and delicate a nature for any but a female audience; they were too injurious to the fame and peace of Ormond for him to be admitted to partake of them; yet his words implied a full acquaintance with recent events and with purposes and deliberations shrouded, as we imagined, in impenetrable secrecy" (*Ormond* 212). Ormond's skill and dexterity in imitating the voice and gesture of others "enabled him to gain access, as if by supernatural means, to the privacy of others and baffle their profoundest contrivances to hide themselves from his view. It flattered him with something like omniscience" (*Ormond* 96), and "(i)t arose from these circumstances that no one was more impenetrable than Ormond, though no one's character seemed more easily discerned" (*Ormond* 96).

In addition to Hades' reputation for riches and invisibility he is known as a recluse: "Hades...is naturally detached and more at home in the underworld than the outer world" (*GEM* 117). Ormond typifies the archetypal Hades in his seclusion: "To the vulgar eye, therefore, he appeared a man of speculation and seclusion, and was equally inscrutable in his real and assumed characters. In his real, his intents were too lofty and comprehensive as well as too assiduously shrouded for them to scan" (*Ormond* 96). Bolen describes "a pure Hades" as "a loner who lives in his own inner world" (*GEM* 116). Ormond reenacts this archetypal personality pattern in his aloofness from any familial or social ties. The archetypal Hades, according to Bolen, is "cut off from the realm of emotions" (*GEM* 119). Though Ormond contrives through devious machinations to possess Constantia, he is not involved with her emotionally.

The rape of Persephone is integral to the Demeter/Kore myth. In classical mythology Hades desired Persephone and abducted the young maiden while she was gathering flowers in a meadow. Hades appeared in his chariot pulled by black powerful horses and seized the terrified

maiden, carrying her into the depths of the underworld. Ormond's attempted rape of Constantia at Perth Amboy reenacts the mythical rape of Persephone by Hades. The green meadow locale where the abduction of Persephone takes place is suggested in the "romantic retreat" of Perth Amboy which is restored to Constantia by the will of Helena. The landscape of "uncommon amplitude and beauty" of Perth Amboy is reminiscent of the green meadow locale of the abduction of Persephone while she was gathering flowers: "her [Constantia's] eyes rested for a moment on the variegated hues which were poured out upon the western sky and upon the scene of intermingled waters, copses and fields" (*Ormond* 222). Like Hades, Ormond intrudes on the harmony of the bucolic scene at full speed with his horse. Like Hades, Ormond is determined to exercise his power over his victim and to possess her by any means as was the fate of Persephone: "Constantia was to be obtained by any means" (*Ormond* 148). Like Hades, Ormond appears as the agent or harbinger of death: "...he now descended the stair, bearing a lifeless body in his arms..." (*Ormond* 229). In addition to bringing about the death of Craig, Ormond claims responsibility for the death of Constantia's father: "His death was a due and disinterested offering on the altar of your felicity and mine" (*Ormond* 231). In contrast to the outcome of the classical Demeter/Kore myth, Constantia averts the intended rape by killing Ormond. The murder of Ormond thrusts her into a psychological hell or underworld from which, as in the classical myth, she is ultimately rescued by Demeter/Sophia: "To restore wealth and equanimity to my friend; to repel the erroneous accusations of her conscience; to hinder her from musing, with eternal anguish, upon this catastrophe; to lay the spirit of secret upbraiding by which she was incessantly tormented, which bereft her of repose, empoisoned all her enjoyments, and menaced not only the subversion of her peace but the speedy destruction of her life, became my next employment" (*Ormond* 241). As in the situation of Demeter who is able to rescue and restore her daughter Persephone, Sophia performs a similar nurturing and creative role in relation to Constantia: "My counsels and remonstrances were not wholly inefficacious. They afforded me the prospect of her ultimate restoration to tranquillity. Meanwhile I called to my aid the influence of time and of a change of scene" (*Ormond* 241).

According to Pratt, the Demeter/Kore myth appeals to women because it "derive[s] from feminine materials alien to patriarchy" (171). As Carl G. Jung and C. Kerenyi suggest, "the psychology of the Demeter cult has all the features of a matriarchal order of society where the man is an indispensable but on the whole disturbing factor" (Jung

and Kerenyi 177). In a patriarchal society many men claim that women's friendships are corrupted by competition for men. Brown shows in the relationship between Constantia and Sophia women drawn to each other's minds and not affected by jealousy over men. In presenting women in relation to each other Brown anticipates modern feminist writers. His perspective suggests that women have the same potential as men for meaningful relationships with each other. Theirs is the friendship which Virginia Woolf writes about in *A Room of One's Own* (Woolf 144). Charles Brockden Brown, the first significant American novelist, deserves re-evaluation by the modern reader because long before the twentieth-century women writers he had presented women in relation to each other rather than to men. In *Ormond* the reader is caught up in the dramatization of a myth that goes against the patriarchal order of the society of the time. Brown's early work leads to the feminist perception that women have the same potential as men, the same autonomy.

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**FAMILY RESEMBLANCES: INTERTEXTUAL
DIALOGUE BETWEEN FATHER AND DAUGHTER
NOVELISTS IN GODWIN'S *ST. LEON* AND
SHELLEY'S *FRANKENSTEIN***

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The importance of struggling with another's discourse, its influence in the history of an individual's coming to ideological consciousness, is enormous. One's own discourse and one's own voice, although born of another or dynamically stimulated by another, will sooner or later begin to liberate themselves from the authority of the other's discourse.

Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel"

A brief survey of literary history in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries yields several prominent examples of "intertextual dialogue": Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791), the collaborations of Goethe with Schiller in the journals *Die Horen* (1795-97) and *Musen Almanach* (1796-1800) and with Wieland in *Taschenbuch auf das Jahr 1804*, and Coleridge's controversial appropriations of German sources in *Biographia Literaria* (1817). Dialogue in these texts reflects a process fraught with more complexity than the term usually implies, since the emergence of each text presupposed a struggle with more authoritative discourse. There are enough additional examples, such as the Schlegel-Tieck translation of Shakespeare (1797-1801, 1810), Wordsworth and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), and Eckermann's *Gesprache mit Goethe* (1836-48), to suggest that intertextual dialogue is one of the paradigmatic modes of Romanticism. These examples also illustrate Mikhail Bakhtin's characterization of literary history as an arena of "struggle constantly being waged...against various kinds and degrees of authority": the young Schiller and the amanuensis Eckermann with Goethe, Boswell with the "Great Cham," Coleridge with Kant and Schelling, and Schlegel and Tieck with Shakespeare.¹

For Bakhtin the generic locus of this struggle is the novel and an intertextual dialogue that exemplifies the struggle to achieve individuated discourse during the Romantic Period is configured by Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus* (1818) and William Godwin's *St. Leon: A Tale of the Sixteenth Century* (1799). The intertextual ligatures connecting these texts have previously been acknowledged, but never fully revealed.² The present discussion is built on this previously unvisited site and is intended to satisfy two

objectives: first, to suggest that *St. Leon* is the primary precursor text with which Mary engaged in intertextual dialogue during the composition of *Frankenstein*; and secondly, as a re-writing of Godwin's novel, *Frankenstein* illustrates the dialogic progression from Mary's appropriation of her father's discourse to the emergence of her own authorial originality. Seen from this perspective the novel functions as an allegory of its author's education and literary apprenticeship. Moreover, intertextual dialogue between *Frankenstein* and *St. Leon* imposes a slight modification on Harold Bloom's paradigm of influence. Here, and in some of the examples named above, the "strong precursor" with whom the "ephebe" grapples is not a poet of the past but a contemporary. As the product of intertextual dialogue, Mary's novel embodies the female child's quest for independence from patriarchal authority, but the act of asserting her independence is made problematic in this case by the fact that her "strong precursor" is not merely a contemporary but her own father. Partially orphaned and then alienated by a stepmother whom she saw as a rival for her father's attention, Mary's attachment to her father was perhaps also afflicted by a trace of culpability for her mother's death in childbirth.³

II.

Following Wollstonecraft's death in 1797, Godwin was left to care for their infant daughter and the three-year old Fanny Imlay. At this time he began to work on *St. Leon*, and the new novel, which anticipates the interest in history and the documentary accuracy of his *Life of Chaucer* (1803) and *History of the Commonwealth of England* (1824-28), examines what Godwin described a few years before as "the evils which arise out of the present system of civilized society," and he considered the novel's publication an effort to "disengage the minds of men from prepossession, and launch them upon the sea of moral and political inquiry."⁴ Thus *St. Leon* resumes the critique of "things as they are" that commenced with *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* (1793) and was continued in *Caleb Williams* (1794) and, like the previous novel, *St. Leon* was intended to make Godwin's political teachings more widely accessible. In particular the new novel reveals the extent to which Godwin's views on marriage had been modified under the tutelage of Wollstonecraft; in fact, even friendly critics charged that he had recanted his revolutionary views on relationships between the sexes. He concedes this point in the novel's Preface: "I apprehend domestic and private affections inseparable from the nature of

man, and from what may be styled the culture of the heart, and am fully persuaded that they are not incompatible with a profound and active sense of justice in the mind that cherishes them.”⁵ Scattered throughout the text, variations of this view contradict Godwin’s memorable description of marriage given in Book VIII of *Political Justice* (1793) as “the worst of all monopolies.”⁶ And yet, the revised argument presented in *St. Leon*, which accommodates bourgeois family life, is yet another example of the intertextual dialogue conducted between *Political Justice* and Godwin’s prose fiction: the later texts suggest modifications to the ideology set down in the philosophical treatise.

The overall design and thematic patterns of *St. Leon* are replicated typologically in *Frankenstein*. At the center is a presentation of the “education” of the protagonist Reginald de St. Leon alternately via chivalry and alchemy. (Alchemy, it is implied, is analogous to chivalry; both are anachronistic social and scientific paradigms.) The latter is perceived initially by the protagonist as a possible vehicle by which he might simultaneously serve mankind and seek atonement for his betrayal of the chivalric code. Reginald’s travels embody an ironic inversion of the classical *Bildungsreise*; his education is based on disillusioning rather than instructive experiences. And, anticipating the trajectory of the Monster’s experience, rather than the popular gratitude he expects in response to his benevolent actions, suffering and destruction seem ineluctably to follow in his wake and he is rejected precisely by those whom he had intended to help. As a result, he is hunted down by such adversaries as his son Charles and his erstwhile friend, Bethlem Gabor. Reginald’s fate is shared by Victor and the Monster (who alternately serve as each other’s prey), and parallels to all three characters are found in the tragic situation of Oedipus. Sophocles’s tragedy, *St. Leon*, and *Frankenstein* are all myths of misguided benevolence in which hubristic transgression of social, religious, and epistemological conventions is punished by exile from human society. Mary also suffers ostracism from her family following her elopement—an intolerable act of hubristic rebellion against her father’s authority—and her elopement coincides with a new phase of authorship independent of her father’s influence. And yet her new status as an author connects her more closely than ever to her precursors Godwin, Wollstonecraft, and Shelley as a critic of “things as they are.”

Following his disillusioning experience of the brutalities of war in the Italian campaigns of Francis I, Reginald finds himself ill-equipped

to function in civilian society. Precisely because he is publicly celebrated as a paragon of chivalry who no longer believes in its values, Godwin presents his fall from grace as symptomatic of a culture in decline. Thus chivalry, Burke's shibboleth in *The Reflections on the Revolution in France* and Godwin's target in *Caleb Williams*, is exposed as already otiose even during its supposed heyday. A living anachronism driven to gambling, Reginald forfeits his family's honor and fortune. Flying from France in disgrace, he settles his family near Lake Geneva. The idyllic scene is reminiscent of the De Laceys' cottage in the forest where Mary's Monster finds refuge.

The appearance of a mysterious interloper, Zampieri, violates the intimacy of the family circle and awakens Reginald's dormant ambition. The stranger offers to share the mystery of the philosopher's stone and the *elixir vitae* but only on condition that Reginald agree in advance not to share this secret with anyone, not even Marguerite, his high-minded wife. Her character is an idealized portait of Mary Wollstonecraft and serves as the model for all the noble female characters in *Frankenstein*—Caroline, Agatha, Safie, Justine, and Victor's cousin, childhood companion, and fiancée, Elizabeth Lavenza. Reginald's first impulse is to refuse Zampieri's offer, insisting that his "heart was formed by nature for social ties...and I will not now consent to any thing that shall infringe on the happiness of my soul." (II, 7) Zampieri responds by striking at Reginald's Achilles' heel; as a true knight and the flower of French chivalry he desires to serve once again as an agent of justice and public welfare. "Feeble and effeminate mortal! Was ever a great discovery prosecuted, or an important benefit conferred upon the human race, by him who was incapable of standing, and thinking, and feeling, alone?" (II, 7-8) The esoteric skills are imparted and immediately Reginald experiences a complete resurrection of his former pride and ambition. His transformation parallels Victor's metamorphosis following the creation of his hideous offspring, but as the bearer of a monstrous secret he embarks on an odyssey "hated by mankind, hunted from the face of the earth, pursued by atrocious calumny, without country, without a roof, without a friend." (II, 9)

While Reginald's and Victor's horrible inner transformation is comparable, the knowledge engendering such change in the psyche of the protagonists is different and must be distinguished. In contrast to the "new science" of natural philosophy that engenders Victor's act of hubris, Godwin's protagonist, Reginald de St. Leon, pursues the arcane arts of alchemy, but they are both afflicted by a mania for illicit knowledge that Chris Baldick has called "epistemophilia."⁷ Knowledge

per se is, however, not the crucial issue; it is rather the specific character of the knowledge they seek. Awakened by the writings of Cornelius Agrippa, Paracelsus, and Albertus Magnus, alchemy is also Victor's first intellectual passion and he confesses to Walton that if only he had been content to study "the more rational theory of chemistry which had resulted from modern discoveries" it is possible "that the train of my ideas would never have received the fatal impulse that led to my ruin." The following passage, with its self-analysis and confessional tone, might just as easily have been spoken by Godwin's protagonist:

My dreams were therefore undisturbed by reality; and I entered with the greatest diligence into the search of the philosopher's stone and the elixir of life. But the latter obtained my most undivided attention: wealth was an inferior object; but what glory would attend the discovery, if I could banish disease from the human frame, and render men invulnerable to any but a violent death.⁸

Masao Miyoshi observes that "in *Frankenstein* the main vehicle of Gothic fantasy is no longer the conventional supernatural" such as alchemy; instead it is the "new science" which, as a result of the protagonist's misapplication, vitiated its claims to being "a humane pursuit by demonstrating its possible monstrous results." Mary reveals in her appropriation and revision of her father's novel that "science," the definitive Enlightenment pursuit, "can generate a totally new species of terror. If scientific man is a kind of God, his scientific method becomes a new supernaturalism, a contemporary witchdoctoring of frightening potential."⁹ But clearly, what Reginald and Victor have most in common is the abuse of their respective sciences. Both novels present the distortion and perversion of procreation as a misapplication of science, old and new, and the process leading to Shelley's emergence as a novelist corresponds to Reginald's application of alchemy and *Frankenstein's* exploitation of the "new science," since all three processes presuppose the transgression of nature, authority and the social order.

The enormous destructive potential of Reginald's and Victor's secret powers condemns them to the remorseless isolation experienced by all those who possess the Midas touch, starting with Godwin himself, whose influence as a philosopher appears under the guise of alchemy and science in both novels.¹⁰ If Reginald's powers are shared

with others the laws of nature will be violated, thus posing a threat to the whole basis of human civilization. "Exhaustless wealth, if communicated to all men, would be but an exhaustless heap of pebbles and dust; and nature will not admit her everlasting laws to be so abrogated, as they would be by rendering the whole race of sublunary man immortal." (II, 103) In this way Reginald's concerns over the potential misuse of his powers anticipate Victor's principled refusal to create a female companion for his creature. It is important to note that altruism dominates the following passage and not, as Anne K. Mellor insists,¹¹ fear of female sexuality or the conscious drive to "usurp" the female principle in procreation:

I was now about to form another being of whose dispositions I was alike ignorant; she might become ten thousand times more malignant than her mate and delight, for its own sake, in murder and wretchedness. He had sworn to quit the neighborhood of man and hide himself in deserts; but she had not; and she, who in all probability was to become a thinking and reasoning animal, might refuse to comply with a compact made before her creation....Even if they were to leave Europe and inhabit the deserts of the new world, yet one of the first results of those sympathies for which the demon thirsted would be children, and a race of devils would be propagated upon the earth who might make the very existence of the species of man a condition precarious and full of terror. Had I a right for my own benefit, to inflict this curse upon everlasting generations? (122-3)

The use of his illicit powers increases Reginald's sense of isolation, and his lament resonates with his counterpart's in *Frankenstein*: "Man was not born to live alone. He is linked to his brethren by a thousand ties; and, when those ties are broken, he ceases from all genuine existence." (III, 97) But rather than put an end to his wretched wanderings, Reginald, after employing the *elixir vitae* in order to make good his escape from the Spanish Inquisition, "panted for something to contend with and something to conquer. My senses unfolded themselves to all the curiosity of remark; my thoughts seemed capable of industry unwearied, and investigation the most constant and invincible. Ambition revived in my bosom...I desired to perform something...that I might see the world start at and applaud." (III, 284)

Illustrating Godwin's prowess in the historical travel mode made popular by Radcliffe and Lewis, Reginald crosses Europe and finds his

desired new field of action in Hungary. Ravaged by war, famine, and grinding servitude under the Turks, the inhabitants of this nation seem ready for a savior, and Reginald seizes the chance to atone for the death of his wife and the breakup of his family in some supreme act of charity and benevolence. However, rather than endearing himself to his Hungarian hosts, the gold he creates in order to buy wheat undermines the nation's markets, creates runaway inflation, and increases the suffering of the people. Once again the use of alchemy has been shown to disrupt the laws of nature and society and to alienate the protagonist still further from the human circle. Reginald's ostracism marks him (as another member of the band of Romantic outcasts: the Ancient Mariner, Childe Harold, Prometheus, and his literary double, Victor Frankenstein. Transgression is the natural consequence of hubris, and it is punished by exile from one's native culture. Mary suffers ostracism from her family as a result of transgressing her father's will and the hubris of elopement is equated with the exercise of her procreative powers and her emergence as the author of her own literary texts. This is the same pattern of creation/transgression/isolation replicated in *St. Leon* and *Frankenstein*. Release from this condition is achieved only in confession or by acts of unselfish caring that lead to absolution. But such deliverance is denied to Reginald and Victor. Even though the Monster reads Victor's laboratory notes, his scientific method is never disclosed to others. Similarly, Reginald keeps his promise to Zampieri and the secret of the philosopher's stone is never revealed to the reader. Indeed, the entire first-person narrative in *St. Leon* forms a series of complex circumlocutions corresponding to the evasive actions and disguises that Reginald requires to preserve his secret at all costs. Instead of genuine communication, Godwin's protagonist offers what he admits is only "the semblance of communication and the unburdening of the mind" simply because he recognizes it is of the essence of being human "insatiably [to thirst] for a confidant [sic] and a friend." (II, 103) Reginald's faux confession functions merely as auto-therapy, and his sufferings, while offering an admonition to the reader, are not redeemed. He is doomed to continue his wanderings without respite.

III.

Written when Mary was only nineteen, *Frankenstein* is among the most enduring icons of Romanticism, and in recent years it has attracted as much attention from critics as any text in the canon. As the only daughter of Godwin and Wollstonecraft's ill-fated union, Mary was "nursed and fed with a love of glory. To be something great and

good was the precept given me by my father.”¹² Emily Sunstein dismisses as inaccurate the assumption still accepted by some that Mary received no systematic education prior to falling under the influence of Shelley. “Living with Godwin was an education; she loved leaning; he encouraged her, and gave her the background Wollstonecraft had not had and regretted having missed.”¹³ Years later Jane (later Claire) Clairmont corroborated her step-sister’s account of the tenor and routine of their Godwinian education:

All the family worked hard, learning and studying: we all took the liveliest interest in the great questions of the day—common topics, gossiping, scandal, found no entrance in our circle, for we had been brought up by Mr. Godwin to think it was the greatest misfortune to be fond of the world, or worldly pleasures or of luxury or money; and that there was no greater happiness than to think well of those around us. and to delight in being useful or pleasing to them.¹⁴

Godwin described the spirit that governed Mary’s education in this way: “I am anxious that she should be brought up like a philosopher even like a Cynic. It will add greatly to the strength and worth of her character.”¹⁵ Her father’s choice of a second wife was only the first of devastating paternal rebuffs she suffered; the other was his reaction to her elopement with the older married poet, which may be seen as an effort to establish independence from Godwin’s control over her discourse.¹⁶ As the precocious child grew into a young woman and emerged as an author, her fathers’ texts provided the authoritative discourse with which she contended in an effort to establish her own distinctive voice. Her earliest literary efforts were, of course, published by the Juvenile Library, her step-mother’s publishing venture, and Mellor suggests that there is “a peculiar symbolic resonance” in the loss of Mary’s early writings which were “accidentally” left behind at a Parisian hotel: “Mary’s first impulse in her new life with the poet Shelley was to establish her own literary credentials, to assert her own voice, and to assume a ‘role’ as his intellectual companion and equal.”¹⁷ But at least initially she merely exchanged one male tutor for another; it was only with her emergence as an author that she attained liberation from both father and husband.

While a number of candidates for Mary’s precursor text are named or cited in the novel, including Milton, Plutarch, and Goethe, *St. Leon* is the “adult” text for which *Frankenstein* serves as a reduction,

translation, and revision. Its author combined the functions of Mary's father and mother as well as her chief teacher and her chief literary "precursor," and yet the most striking structural and thematic correspondences between *Frankenstein* and *St. Leon* arise from the urgency of her efforts to mediate her Godwinian education by re-writing one of its canonical texts. In a modification of the Russian linguist I. M. Lotman's model of the "reception" and "appropriation" of adult texts by children, Michael Holquist suggests that "not only do children thus limit the scripts of the playlets their parents enact with them; they also limit the size of the cast. That is, for children all possible players in the world's drama are reduced to the characters experienced in the family culture."¹⁸ Barbara Johnson has written that "*Frankenstein...* can be read as the story of the experience of writing *Frankenstein*," but actually the writing of *Frankenstein* is about the re-writing of *St. Leon*.¹⁹ This accounts for the parallels between *St. Leon* and *Frankenstein* with respect to their dramatic personae. The model for *St. Leon*'s family is, of course, Godwin's own deceased first wife, daughters, and step-son; and in *Frankenstein* Mary sustains this pattern, less as a way of exorcising an Electra complex by gender substitution (in this sense Victor and Alphonse Frankenstein can be seen as surrogates for Shelley and Godwin; Elizabeth is Fanny Imlay's double) than as a means of completing her literary education. As such, education assumes the form, initially, of appropriating parental speech patterns and narratives. Once this step is successfully completed the child moves on to the second stage in the process of *Bildung*, the articulation and creation of her own discourse.

Bakhtin used the term "novel" to denote "whatever force is at work within a given literary system to reveal the limits and the artificial constraints of that system. According to this view, literary systems are comprised of canons and 'novelization' is fundamentally anticanonical."²⁰ This characterization applies to both *St. Leon* and *Frankenstein*, since each work is a militantly anti-canonical, composite literary form that explores the outer boundaries of the novel's possibilities as a genre and combines, appropriates, and fuses other narrative sub-genres, including Gothic, travel and sentimental fiction. Bakhtin argues that the content and images of the novel are therefore "profoundly double-voiced and double-langued" because they "seek to objectivize the struggle with all types of internally persuasive discourse that had at one time held sway over the author."²¹ One such sub-genre exhibited in *Frankenstein* that illustrates this process is the

Bildungsroman, in which the process of intertextual dialogue has been fused with the dialectic of education.

The composition of *Frankenstein* may, in fact, be compared to the manner in which children learn to appropriate adult speech for themselves and the means by which a writer distinguishes his/her voice from those of precursors and literary authority figures. The first process is analogous to translation in that it involves assimilation, rearrangement, a certain amount of necessary distortion, and simplification of the parental discourse adopted by the child as models in developing his or her own voice and speech patterns. Lotman describes language acquisition as a mediating process combining translation, appropriation, and reconfiguration:

The child's contact with the world of adults is constantly imposed on him by the subordinated position of his world in the general hierarchy of the culture of adults. However this contact itself is possible only as an act of translation. How can such translation be accomplished?...[T]he child establishes a correspondence between some texts familiar and comprehensible to him in 'his' language and the texts of 'adults'....In such a translation—of one whole text by another whole text—the child discovers an extraordinary abundance of 'superfluous' words in 'adult' texts. The act of translation is accompanied by a semantic reduction of the text....The child reduces the semantic model obtained from [the language of adults] in such a way that translation into his own language of the texts flowing from without is possible.²²

The child's mediation of adult discourse thus may be likened to the reception of literary texts belonging to a foreign culture. In *Les voix du silence* (1951) Andre Malraux describes the process of cultural interaction in terms of a "conquest," an "annexation," a "possession" of the "foreign," of that which is culturally other, and Bakhtin characterizes the impact of another's discourse upon the writer as dialectical opposition between self and other involving, first, the recognition of difference followed by the struggle for individuation or originality:

When someone else's ideological discourse is internally persuasive for us and acknowledged by us, entirely different possibilities open up. Such discourse is of decisive significance in the evolution of an individual's

consciousness: consciousness awakens to independent ideological life precisely in a world of alien discourses surrounding it, and from which it cannot initially separate itself....One's own discourse is gradually and slowly wrought out of other's words that have been acknowledged and assimilated, and the boundaries are at first scarcely perceptible....When such influences are laid bare, the half-concealed life lived by another's discourse is revealed within the new context of the given author. When an influence is deep and productive, there is no external imitation, no simple act of reproduction but rather a further creative development of another's discourse in a new context and under new conditions.²³

In its mythical treatment of the necessity to struggle against even the most beloved presence in one's life, Mary's novel also reflects the centrality to Romanticism of Germaine de Stael's maxim: "Force of mind is developed only by attacking power."

The Monster's acquisition of speech, reading skills, and, most importantly, the capacity to generate texts symbolically replicates Mary's education as a struggle with another's discourse. Within her narrative this process approximates the Lotman/Bakhtin paradigm according to which the Monster learns, first, by appropriating the discourse of the De Laceys and of the books he finds in the "leathern portmanteau"—Milton, Plutarch, and Goethe—and, secondly in articulating its own individuated discourse.²⁴ In the Godwin household the categories of parents and authors were conflated and the circle of family friends included prominent literary and cultural figures who were familiar to the children.²⁵ Mary's, and by extension, the Monster's obsession with language reflects their shared struggle to gain command of a medium in which to express their own thoughts in the midst of many authoritative models of discourse: "By degrees I made a discovery of still greater moment. I found that these people possessed a method of communicating their experience and feelings to one another by articulate sounds....This was indeed a godlike science, and I ardently desired to become acquainted with it." (83) There is a remarkable parallel between the Monster's language acquisition through a process of eavesdropping on the De Laceys and the famous anecdote of Mary and the other Godwin children hiding behind the sofa in order to listen to Coleridge's reading of the "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner." How many countless times was this scene replicated over the years during visits by Wordsworth, Lamb, and Holcroft? An interesting irony

disclosed in the dialogic process is that the Monster acquires and demonstrates a command over language that far surpasses the eloquence of any other figure in the novel. Indeed, the source of his eventual domination of Victor is, ironically, not his superhuman strength, but his greater rhetorical power. It is also an irony of literary history that in securing her authorial identity with the endurance of *Frankenstein* Mary surpassed the success enjoyed by *St. Leon*, her primary precursor text, which Byron considered superior to *Caleb Williams*. And while *Frankenstein* continues to generate literary, such as Brian Aldiss's *Frankenstein Unbound*, and cinematic spinoffs at a dizzying rate, Godwin's novel is available today only in a antiquarian reprint.

A further instance of Mary's identification with the Monster is found in their similar responses to maternal deprivation.²⁶ Victor and Reginald are also motherless, and for both this loss is exacerbated by the deaths of other loved ones. Mellor has described *Frankenstein* as an analysis of "the failure of the family, the damage wrought when the mother—or a nurturant parental love—is absent."²⁷ This is also the central theme of *St. Leon*, which is, as already suggested, a transparent redaction of the Godwin family experience, and Mary's treatment of the orphan's agony of the Monster illustrates Freud's view that "missing someone who is loved and longed for is the key to an understanding of anxiety."²⁸ By virtue of a kind of sorcery akin to alchemy, Mary and the Monster seem to have been formed by a hermaphroditic father, who combines both the male and female principles of generation and whose powers of multiplication correspond to the recondite powers of the philosopher's stone. As a descriptive term "hermaphroditic" is preferable to William Veeder's "androgyny," since androgyny refers only to proclivity or "sexual character," while hermaphroditism actually has reference to actual sexual nature or capacity.²⁹ Victor's ability to create life from inanimate matter and Reginald's multiple rebirths by means of the *elixir vitae* are methods of creating life that circumvent the female body but not the mammal principle. In a thinly veiled disguise for Godwin's relationship to Mary and her half-sister Fanny, Reginald outlives his wife and appropriates the maternal role in his relationship to his daughters. The life-giving powers exhibited by Victor and Reginald correspond to Mary's own birth in which the maternal principle was eliminated in Wollstonecraft's death. Through their traumatic births and status as orphans the Monster stands revealed as her fictive other.

The main narrative and thematic vehicle in both novels, the perversion or misuse of science, old and new, is, in fact, a distortion of

procreation, and the bridge between alchemy and natural philosophy is the discovery of the means of creating or perpetuating life by a subtraction of the female principle from procreation. And ironically, the stain of mortality is removed from persons *not of woman born*. The elimination of the female principle in procreation invites Mary's critique of the monstrosity of neglectful parenting. Testifying to the power of environmental conditioning in childhood, both motherless protagonists reveal themselves to be neglectful parents in their own right. And Victor's feckless record as the "parent" of the offspring of his scientific labors is symbolic of the neglectful male parents in Mary's personal life—Godwin and Shelley. Victor rationalizes the abandonment of his child on grounds not usually associated with maternalism, that is, aesthetic criteria, insisting "that no mortal could support the horror of that countenance"; even a "mummy endued with animation could not be so hideous as that wretch." (43) There are strong parallels here to Godwin's "monstrous" behavior as a parent, for we know that he not only opposed Mary's decision to elope with Shelley, but he also refused to claim or identify the body of Fanny Godwin following her suicide on October 9, 1816. (Like her half-sister, this doubly-orphaned young woman had, in her father's view, indelibly stained the family's honor.) The novel also provides subversive commentary on the egregious behavior of other parents in the Shelley circle: Claire Clairmont, Byron, Percy, and even Mary herself. Byron gained custody of his daughter Allegra only to have her placed in a convent where she died of neglect. The frenetic wanderlust (and the woeful traveling conditions they endured) of the Shelleys may be directly implicated in the deaths of their children Clara I (March 6, 1815), Clara II (September 24, 1818), and William (June 7, 1819). Perhaps of all acts the most reprehensible was Shelley's abandonment of his wife and children when he eloped with Mary. In what can only be reckoned a display of astonishing insensitivity, they were then married less than three weeks after Harriet—pregnant at the time—drowned herself in the Serpentine. Considering this monstrous record of neglect, which clearly contravened the teachings of Godwin by which the Shelleys claimed to be fashioning their lives, the Chancery judgment delivered on March 17, 1817 denying Shelley custody of his children could have come as no surprise and, respecting the moral universe of both *St. Leon* and *Frankenstein*, was certainly justified.³⁰

With the appropriation and rewriting of *St. Leon* Mary attains independence, as a creator of texts, from both her father and her husband. For her husband she serves as an extension of her father; her

elopement and marriage to Shelley represent efforts on his part to attain consanguinity with her father, his great idol, through the instrumentality of her mind and body. At the same time, it reflects Shelley's attempt to usurp Godwin's role as his young wife's primary educator and literary precursor. We can see this as an attempted exclusionary gesture whose objective is to assume control over her continuing development as a writer. In *Frankenstein*, Mary therefore seeks to perform a double divestiture not only of "parental" influence, but also of authoritative discourse associated with both dominating literary figures in her life, her father and her husband. In this way the novel serves as a powerful reminder that literary texts function instrumentally. In Holquist's phrase, "they serve as a prosthesis of the mind. As such, they have a tutoring capacity that materially effects change by getting from one stage of development to another," and in its dual capacity as an enabling device and as a necessary stage in the dialectic of education leading to the attainment of a secure authorial identity, *Frankenstein* enacts for its author and protagonists a dual process of soul and voice formation.³¹ Emulating Reginald's and Victor's search for ideal companionship, empowering knowledge and opportunities for doing some action that is "great and good," the Monster's odyssey begins with the discovery that he lives in a hostile world and that he has been rejected by his "father" and denied the right to engender his own offspring. His odyssey or *Bildungsreise* ends with the murderous inversion of Godwinian altruism as he lashes out at Victor, destroying all those with whom he enjoys emotional intimacy in order to render his condition identical to his own. The rebellion of the Monster, which proceeds from inarticulate rage to the discovery of speech and the art of discourse, invites comparisons with Mary's efforts, first, to assimilate and, secondly, to overcome her father's authoritative discourse, a process which culminates in her marriage to Shelley and the nearly simultaneous inception of her novel.

Recognizing that even the most persuasive interpretation may fail to convince, I would hesitate to suggest that the genesis and development of Mary's novel is fully explained as the result of intertextual dialogue with Godwin's *St. Leon*. Neither would I reduce the text's function to mapping her development as a writer. But, as I have attempted to show, such an interpretation brings us closer to the novel's textual and psychological matrices and it delineates the central auto-therapeutic function of writing. Moreover, by adopting Bakhtin's dialogic framework we gain a more pronounced awareness of the struggle involved in moving beyond mere appropriation of another's

authoritative discourse to the production of discourse that is distinctly one's own. In contrast to those critics who have inserted *Frankenstein* into or extracted the novel from a patriarchal tradition, the preceding discussion should make it clear that I reject both alternatives. The tradition into which we should place *Frankenstein* is that which makes apparent its structure and language as empowering psychological scaffolding. Godwin's *St. Leon* provided Mary with a dialogic partner in the struggle for self-expression, and *Frankenstein* is a reflection of the will to articulate her own consciousness and to attain individuation apart from the discourse associated with the "strong precursors" in her personal and literary experience. What makes the intertextual dialogue forming *Frankenstein* of particular interest is that the authoritative discourse with which its young author contended was formed by the texts of her father, mother, and husband—a body of texts that she habitually and even ritually read at home and on her mother's grave in the St. Pancras churchyard. This is the tradition formed by *St. Leon*. From this perspective Mary's novel can be seen to replicate intertextual dialogue with a text that we can readily identify, *St. Leon*, and because of Shelley's filial relationship with its author, it is possible to extrapolate from this process of intertextual dialogue to her development and growth as a writer. The end result of this process is the acquisition and exercise of genuine cultural power.

NOTES

¹Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. by Michael Holquist; trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: U of Texas P, 1981), p. 345.

²Recent studies follow Burton R. Pollin, "Philosophical and Literary Sources of *Frankenstein*," *Comparative Literature* 17 (1965), 97-108, in citing *St Leon* but not pursuing the extensive thematic and plot correspondences with *Frankenstein*. See Chris Baldick, *In Frankenstein's Shadow* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 37; Anne K. Mellor, *Mary Shelley: Her Life, Her Fiction, Her Monsters* (New York and London: Routledge reprint, 1989), p. 85; and Emily Sunstein's magisterial *Mary Shelley: Romance and Reality* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1991, paperback edition), pp. 23-24.

³Emily Sunstein, *Mary Shelley: Romance and Reality*, 29, takes a neutral stance in the dispute over the character of the second Mrs. Godwin as compared to the first, and reminds the reader that Mary's singularly possessive attachment to her father was such that "no woman under Heaven, not even Mary Wollstonecraft had she descended from it, would have been

readily accepted as her father's consort by the four-year-old Mary Godwin."

⁴*The British Critic*, July 1795, p. 94.

⁵William Godwin, *St. Leon: A Tale of the Sixteenth Century*, 4 volumes (London: Printed for G. G. & J. Robinson, R. Noble, printer, 1799), p. ix. All intra-textual references will be made to this edition.

⁶William Godwin, *An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, (Third Edition, 1798), ed. by Isaac Kramnick (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1976), p. 762.

⁷Chris Baldick, *In Frankenstein's Shadow* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1987), p. 26. Even though Baldick argues that Mary's story "of the creation of a monster emerges from her parents' debate with Burke over the great monstrosity of the modern age, the French Revolution" (27) and he identifies Godwin as "novel's intellectual begetter" (29), he devotes no more than one page in his study to *St. Leon*. And while acknowledging the basic parallels between Victor's "naturals philosophy" and Reginald's alchemy, he only considers Godwin's novel one among many sources for *Frankenstein*. Baldick adds up the numerous allusions to *Paradise Lost* in the text and deduces that Milton's epic is "by far the most important literary source" for Mary's novel (40).

⁸Mary Shelley, *Frankenstein*; or, *The Modern Prometheus* (1818 edition) in *The Mary Shelley Reader*, ed. Betty T. Bennett and Charles E. Robinson (New York: Oxford UP, 1990), p. 30. All intra-textual references will be made to this edition.

⁹Masao Miyoshi, *The Divided Self* (New York: New York UP, 1969), p.86.

¹⁰Gary Kelly, *The English Jacobin Novel, 1780-1805* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1976), p. 209, is persuaded that Mary's father "felt himself to be in possession of great and terrible secrets—the philosophy of *Political Justice*—which he could not use for the benefit of mankind, but which, on the contrary, made him an object of fear and loathing." Emily Sunstein, *Mary Shelly: Romance and Reality*, p. 20, notes that Godwin's contemptories "compared him to a great, if failed, explorer on humanity's behalf—a Promethean paradigm that Mary Godwin would immortalize in her scientist, Frankenstein, whose confidant Walton, is a polar explorer."

¹¹"The Female in *Frankenstein*" in *Feminism and Romanticism*, ed. by Anne K. Mellor (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1988), p. 224.

¹²*Journals of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, Abinger MSS, 21 (October 1838), quoted in Emily Sunstein, *Mary Shelley: Romance and Reality*, p. 11.

¹³Emily Sunstein, *Mary Shelley: Romance and Reality*, pp. 38-39: "All the children were deeply influenced by him, but Mary was his star disciple, the most powerfully engaged and permanently affected, the one from whom he demanded and gave most. Her most felicitous, intimate, even thrilling intercourse with her father was that of pupil and teacher, and inordinate as her later tributes to him might seem, it was homage to mentorship that few fathers gave their daughters."

¹⁴*Journals of Claire Clairmont*, ed. M. K. and D. M. Stocking (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 1968), p. 18.

¹⁵Letter to W. T. Baxter, June 8, 1812, *Shelley and His Circle 1773-1822*, ed. Keith Neill Cameron and Donald H. Reiman. (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard UP, 1961-73), pp. 3, 102.

¹⁶Evidence for Mary's idolization of her father is found in a letter: "until I met Shelley I may justly say that Godwin was my God." *The Letters of Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley*, ed. Betty T. Bonnet. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1980), pp. 1, 296.

¹⁷Anne K. Mellor, *Mary Shelley Her Life, Her Fiction, Her Monsters* (New York and London: Routledge, 1989), p. 23.

¹⁸Michael Holquist, *Dialogism: Bakhtin and his World* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990), p. 82.

¹⁹Barbara Johnson. "My Monster/My Self," *Diacritics* 12 (1982), 8.

²⁰From the editor's introduction, Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, p. xxxi.

²¹Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, p. 348.

²²I. M. Lotman, "On the Reduction and Unfolding of Sign Systems (The Problem of "Freudianism and Semiotic Culturology")" in *Semiotics and Structuralism: Readings from the Soviet Union*, edited with an Introduction by Henryk Baran; trans. William Mandel, Henryk Baran, and A.J. Hollander (White Plains, N.Y.: International Arts and Sciences Press, Inc. 1976), p. 302.

²³Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Holquist, pp. 345, 347.

²⁴All of these works figured prominently in Godwin's scheme of education for his children, but Goethe's *Werther* carries deep emotional associations for the Godwin family because Mary's father was reading it at the time of Wollstonecraft's death.

²⁵A small sampling of prominent visitors to the Godwin household includes Wordsworth, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Thomas Holcroft, Joseph Johnson, Samuel Rogers, John Flaxman, J. M. W. Turner, Maria Edgeworth, Helen Maria Williams, and Charlotte Smith.

²⁶Emily Sunstein, *Mary Shelley: Romance and Reality*, p. 33, reminds us that, despite the vogue for focusing on Wollstonecraft's absence in her daughter's life, Mary "may have been ambivalent about her motherlessness, which deprived her of tenderness but also of a rival for Godwin." Sunstein also notes that Victor and the Monster prefigure the motherless heroines of Mary's subsequent novels—Euthanasia in *Valperga* and Ethel Villiers and Fanny Derham in *Lodore*.

²⁷Anne K. Mellor, *Mary Shelley: Her Life, Her Fiction, Her Monsters*, p. 39.

²⁸Sigmund Freud, *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety*, 1926, in *The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud* (London: The Hogarth Press), 20: pp. 136-137. John Bowlby, *Attachment and Loss*, Vol. II, *Separation: Anxiety and Anger* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), pp. 4-5, author also of *Charles Darwin: A New Life* (New York: Norton, 1990), modifies Freud's late observations on grief and separation anxiety and suggests a possible cause of Mary's frequent bouts of anxiety during pregnancy: "States of anxiety and depression that occur during adult years, and also psychopathic conditions, can, it is held, be linked in a systematic way to the states of anxiety, despair, and detachment ...that are so readily engendered whenever a young child is separated for long from his mother figure, whenever he expects a separation, and when, as sometimes happens, he loses her altogether."

²⁹William Veeder, *Mary Shelley and Frankenstein—The Fate of Androgyny* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1986).

³⁰See Chapter Six, "Deaths by Land and Sea," in Robert Gittings and Jo Manton, *Claire Clairmont and the Shelleys, 1798-1879* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992), pp. 66-73.

³¹Michael Holquist, *Dialogism: Bakhtin and his World*, p. 83.

**TEXTS AND OTHER FICTIONS IN GORE VIDAL'S
*BURR***

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Over the years, Gore Vidal has campaigned furiously against theorists and writers of the new novel who, according to Vidal, "have attempted to change not only the form of the novel but the relationship between book and reader" ("French Letters" 67). In his essays, he has condemned the "misdirected" efforts of writers such as Donald Barthelme, John Gardner, Thomas Pynchon, John Barth, William Gass, and all those who come equipped with "formulas, theorems, signs, and diagrams because words have once again failed them" ("American Plastic" 102). In comparison, Vidal presents himself as a literary conservative, a defender of traditional form in fiction even though his own novels betray his willingness to penetrate beyond words and to experiment with form, especially in his series of historical novels. Vidal's *Hollywood* calls to mind Doctorow's *Ragtime*; *Lincoln* owes much to the literary form pioneered by Truman Capote; and his 1973 novel *Burr* resembles in many ways Barth's *The Sot-Weed Factor*, a turning point of sorts for the American historical novel.

Despite Vidal's objection to *The Sot-Weed Factor* as that "astonishingly dull book [which] for a dozen years I have been trying to read" ("American Plastic" 111), Vidal, like Barth, writes about writers and writing, about historians and historiography, about facts and fiction, and about how history happens. That both would turn to biographies, letters, poems, diaries, novels, journals, histories—to "factional" and fictional literary forms—testifies to their infatuation with documents and to their belief that history and fiction make good neighbors. At the same time, both distrust history, suspect documents, and question the reliability of "facts." They share, it seems, William Gass's conviction that "the written word...is a murderer of meaning" (260). In *The Sot-Weed Factor*, Barth discovers that history is not there at all while Vidal in *Burr* concludes that history disappears in the hands of historians—the murderer is not so much the word but the historian. In *Burr*, Vidal seems bemused by texts, perplexed that words hide history even as they hope to reveal it. Thus he debates, revises, and corrects his historical sources because their words cannot be accepted at face value and because history, consequently, lives somewhere else. As he works with his sources, he concludes that texts, upon close examination, deconstruct, that words offer only partial truths, and that

ambiguity and elusiveness not only shroud but perhaps constitute history.

In *Burr*, Vidal's quarrel with history is obvious enough as he sets out to topple the icons of the American Revolution, debunk American cultural myths, and expose the fictions that surround America's beginnings, producing along the way a new "history" of the period. At the same time, Vidal carries on another more significant and ultimately more revealing debate, a private quarrel with his sources that goes unnoticed by the general reader. For much of his information Vidal turned to Matthew Davis's *The Memoirs of Aaron Burr with Miscellaneous Selections from His Correspondence* (1836), to Davis's edition of *The Private Journal of Aaron Burr During His Residence of Four Years in Europe* (1838), and to Charles Burdett's novel, *Margaret Moncrieff: The First Love of Aaron Burr. A Romance of the Revolution* (1861). These sources provided Vidal with information, anecdote, and with an intriguing device for the structure of his novel, namely a plot within a plot, featuring characters who, in the course of the novel, would write the very books that Vidal would draw from for his own novel. Thus fiction, history, and literary history double back on themselves in the same sense, but with a different purpose, than they do in John Barth's *Letters*.

That so many of the characters in *Burr* are writers is, therefore, not surprising, even less so as one notices that the "fictional" plot is the story of the aspiring writer, Charles Schuyler, a character who appears also in *1876* and *Lincoln*. During the course of the novel, Burr updates his already written *Memoirs* and Matthew Davis, Burr's long time friend, is occupied with editing the *Memoirs* as well as Burr's *Private Journal*. Schuyler is writing two books about Burr, a scandalous piece of political hackwork (a false history) and a serious, full-length biography (a true history). Schuyler, described by Robert Kiernan as "self-conscious about his literary defects" (83), also writes occasional pieces for *The New York Evening Post* on such diverse subjects as love, apples, lady singers, the murder of Elma Sands, and a trip on the Brooklyn-Jamaica railroad. Various other writers—Washington Irving, William Cullen Bryant, William Leggett—appear as minor characters discussing their own work in progress or that of friends such as James Fenimore Cooper. In a word, the novel runneth over with writers, writing about Burr and about history, a technique that provides the novel with a sense of historicity and lends credibility to Vidal's view of 1830s America. More to the point, it allows Vidal the opportunity to examine multiple "documents," to create texts within texts, each of

which adds to and yet challenges the others, and to engage himself in the rewriting, the correction so to speak, of the texts themselves.

This is especially evident in Vidal's treatment of Matthew Davis's editions of Burr's *Memoirs* and his *Private Journal*. From the *Memoirs*, Vidal borrowed details, descriptions of events, and lengthy anecdotes such as Washington's reply to Burr's resignation from the army and Burr's humorous record of his treatment in jail during his treason trial in Richmond. Vidal also structures his novel by alternating chapters drawn from materials in the *Memoirs* which cover the years 1775-1807 with those depicting Burr's activities in the 1830s. Even then Vidal invents new "memoirs" on occasion and reworks originals to suit his interpretation of the period as a time when little men seized great power.

Vidal's relationship to Davis is, however, more than that of a writer to his source. For one thing, Vidal makes Davis a character in the novel where he works intermittently on the *Memoirs* and even exchanges information and manuscripts with Schuyler. For another, Vidal makes it clear that he disapproves of Davis's work. Publically, he has Schuyler complain that Davis simply "pastes an occasional platitude over the Colonel's wax-life effigy" (179). Privately, Vidal knows what the reader does not, namely that Davis gave the world a sanitized version of Aaron Burr by improving Burr's moral character through prudish editing which included "committing to the fire all such correspondence [between Burr and various women] that would have wounded the feelings of families" (*Memoirs* IV). Quietly, Vidal inserts back into history deleted portions of Burr's life. Anathema to Davis, Burr's womanizing, for example, becomes a major part of the novel which begins with Burr's marriage to Madame Jumel, an aging former prostitute, and closes with his death-bed romance with a young Jane McManus. Burr is portrayed as a fertility god who sires children wherever he touches the earth—a true father to his countrymen. Almost devilishly so it seems, Vidal ends the novel with Schuyler's discovery that he is Burr's illegitimate son just as his real-life model, the novelist Charles Burdett, was himself the illegitimate offspring of Burr. Even this parallel seems in part directed at Davis who, although he knew Burdett personally, never reveals the Burr-Burdett relationship in his publication.

At other times, Vidal's quarrel takes on a mock-epic quality as he turns to minor details in his effort to humanize Davis's portrait of Burr. Once again, the debate takes place as much outside the novel as in it. Consequently, only through a careful comparison of Davis's and Vidal's texts can we observe the extent and intensity of Vidal's objection to

history as written. In *Memoirs*, Davis, for example, writes that Burr took a carriage from Cambridge to Newburyport to join Arnold's Canadian expedition (I, 62). Vidal's *Burr* explains it differently: "A new and eager soldier, I went on foot. Matt sensibly took a carriage" (54). Later, Davis comments that during the Canadian campaign Burr "disguised himself as a young Catholic priest" to seek information (I, 67). Writing as if his readers knew this detail intimately, Vidal presents a furious Burr who interrupts his own narrative of the campaign to say, "I should note here that I did not ever disguise myself as a French priest in order to pass through the countryside unremarked...I have no idea where this story came from, but like so many other absurdities it has been duly published" (61). Finally, Davis, at another point, tells us about Trumbull's painting of the death of Montgomery: "Col. Trumbull in a superb painting recently executed by him...has drawn the general falling into the hands of his surviving aide-de-camp [Burr]" (I, 71). Vidal's *Burr* takes exception to this: "Trumbull's recent and deservedly popular painting...omits me entirely while adding...several officers who at the time were nowhere in the vicinity" (64).

Davis's edition of Burr's *Private Journal* provokes a similar response from Vidal. On the one hand he trusts the document enough to borrow information about Burr's poverty in London and Paris, his attempts to meet Napoleon, his efforts to borrow money, and his struggle to obtain a passport from an unfriendly American consul. On the other, he publicly warns his readers that his source is corrupt. Early in the novel, Schuyler says that "Davis will destroy the *Journal*," and in a postscript, Charlie reminds us that Davis has indeed "bowdlerized" the work which he published two years ago (560). In *Burr*, Vidal took steps to restore the text from which Davis had again "suppressed certain parts," explaining that no "father should write and preserve such a record for his daughter" (VI). As he had done in the case of the *Memoirs*, Vidal reversed life and art, or at least history and fiction, by using his novel to restore the history which had vanished at the hands of the historian. On one occasion, he inserts a fictitious letter as an example of Burr's "Journal." Written to Theodosia and dated 2 May 1811, the letter details Burr's exploits with "a dark creature...with a mole at the corner of her mouth" (86). Needless to say, no such letter exists; quite the contrary, from the 18th of February until the middle of May 1811 the pages of the journal are missing. On other occasions Vidal invents entries which further allude to the Colonel's sexual proclivities although Schuyler complains that they contain "French words which I don't understand" (86).

Vidal's disappointment with Davis and with historical texts perhaps explains why he turned to fiction (specifically to Burdett's 1861 novel, *Margaret Montcrieffe: The First Love of Aaron Burr*) in order to develop his own history. Strictly speaking, Vidal borrowed only a few incidents from the novel, none of which further the plot or theme of *Burr*, but Vidal's treatment of them shows that his debate with history had become internalized, less related to the concerns of *Burr* and more related to his growing awareness that words may indeed murder meaning. The reader is again excluded from Vidal's private quarrel; only at the end does he even learn that Charles Schuyler is modeled loosely on the "obscure novelist Charles Burdett" (564) and only there does Vidal imply that Burdett and his novel lend insight into the nature and, ultimately, the predicament of Vidal's own journey into the past.

Widely believed to be Burr's son, Charles Burdett (1815-1861) was adopted by Burr as a youngster, tutored in private schools, and sent to Princeton at Burr's expense. Burr wrangled him a military commission and employed him in his New York law office in the 1830s (Dick 182; Lomask 389). A newspaperman and political office holder, Burdett also wrote some fifteen novels, the most popular of which, ironically, was *Margaret Montcrieffe*, a work which featured a supposed affair between Burr and the fashionable daughter of a British officer stationed in New York during the Revolution. In *Burr*, Vidal refers to the Montcrieffe affair only once when Burr remembers that "I did not like the girl at all. I am told she gives me the honor of having been the first to take her virginity. But I do not think that would have been possible" (76). With a line of witty dialogue, Vidal dismisses Burdett's fictional claim; in fact, he appears to include the scene only so that he can challenge Burdett. Burdett after all could have heard about the romance from reliable witnesses or from Burr himself. Also, he was familiar with N. C. Stone's acknowledgement of the affair as it appeared in James Parton's 1858 biography of Burr. As an appendix, Burdett published an excerpt from Montcrieffe's *Memoirs* in which she suggests that her lover was Aaron Burr. In the face of all this testimony, Vidal's disclaimer seems to fly in the face of history except that the trail undoubtedly led Vidal back into history, to Montcrieffe's autobiography, issued in 1794 as *The Memoirs of Mrs. Coqhlan*. There he must have discovered that Montcrieffe never actually named her American beau. Texts deny texts, Vidal learns, and history is fashioned from words that do not exist.

On the other hand, Vidal's study of Davis and Burdett leads him to conclude that fiction reveals truths that elude the historian. In one of his memoirs, Vidal's Burr recollects the Battle of Kips Bay/Harlem in

September 1776. The passage is short and unimportant. Burr remembers advising his fellow officers to retreat. "If you stay," he tells them, "You will be taken prisoner and hung as high as Master Hickey" (104). Vidal takes Burr's words from an original letter written by Isaac Jennings and Andrew Wakeman to support Burr's petition for a pension. Davis includes the letter in Burr's *Memoirs* and Burdett appends the letter to his novel along with materials relating to the execution of Thomas Hickey, including the record of his trial for treason and the planned kidnapping of George Washington, and the "Warrant for the Execution of Hickey" signed by Washington. The Wakeman/Jennings letter, as found in Davis and Burdett, makes no mention of Hickey, however. They quote Burr as having said, "If you stay, you will be either prisoners or hung like dogs" (Davis 401). Clearly Vidal is more taken with the truth of Burdett's historical novel in which Hickey briefly appears than he is by the accuracy of Wakeman and Jennings, eyewitnesses at the event. Truth transcends facts as Vidal unflinchingly corrects the document to show what Burr ought to have said—what he does in fact "say" to Vidal and the unsuspecting reader.

Yet words make up texts after all even though they are flimsy things indeed as Vidal had seen in the works of Davis, Burdett, and Montcrieffe. That words can be changed, deleted, or misread is just as apparent, of course, in Vidal's versions of Burr's *Memoirs and Journal* and in his fictional portrait of Charles Burdett, whose own words have all but disappeared from literary history. Even the documented word may be inaccurate just as historical perceptions may be the wrong perceptions—just as history might itself be "wrong" in need of correction. This radical view, not uncommon to the contemporary American historical novel, led Vidal to commit the unthinkable—the rewriting of original texts so as to present history as it ought to have happened.

This is not to say that Vidal treats facts as cavalierly as Barth, Coover, and other writers of what Barbara Foley calls "the apocalyptic historical novel" (101). Quite the contrary, Vidal regards texts seriously enough to chide his historical sources and to make repeated statements that his historical novels are nothing less than facts dressed up. In the afterward to *Burr*, he insists that "the story told is history and not invention" and that he has "tried to keep to the known facts" (563-64). In 1876 he emphatically reminds us that his characters all "existed, saying and doing pretty much what I have them saying and doing. I have moved about history only twice" (447). Later, in *Lincoln*, he again closes by insisting that very little of the book is "made-up" (659); and in *Empire* he notes that he has been faithful to the "generally

agreed upon facts" (487). But in the end facts are not enough. Charlie Schuyler makes this clear when he indicts Matthew Davis because Davis "simply put them [the facts] all down" (179), and in the process reduces Burr to a shadow of himself. For Vidal, neither facts, nor texts, nor even words are enough since all seem untrustworthy in the end, a view that places him in the mainstream of the new American historical novel and which links him with writers—Barth, Berger, Coover, Doctorow, Mailer, Flanagan—whose suspicion of history as written results in novels where "history" transcends historical texts.

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CREATING A SELF, PERSONAL AND NATIONAL, IN RICHARD NELSON'S TRILOGY

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In *The Innocent Eye*, Roger Shattuck explores some of the developments that followed from the shift, occurring in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, away from the belief that birth determined a person's station in life. Asking one sweeping question raised by the revolution in attitude—"How then were citizens to find their place in the world? their role in life?"—he offers a tentative answer: "Citizens of the modern world have sought not so much a station as a self, a personal identity or individuality, a self which also gradually displaced the earlier term, soul,"¹ Shattuck goes on to suggest four directions the search for self-discovery has taken in the past two centuries. For citizens of the modern theatre, the two most interesting are the third and fourth, undertaking to create a self from subjective processes and in the histrionic sensibility. They offer more possibilities for the theatre than the other two, making money and pursuing amorous adventures, because the third enacts an experimental, non-naturalistic drama and the fourth requires an audience to validate the creation.

The two directions shape a group of three plays by Richard Nelson. Whether or not they were conceived as a trilogy, they can be thought of as forming one. They share the same metaphors and imagery. Furthermore, the three were produced in New York in a ten-month period from March 1978 to January 1979. Two had been produced before, yet the fact remains that their author was to some degree involved in the staging of the three within three months of one another, a fact that prompts Andre Bishop, then Playwrights Horizons' artistic director, to link them in the introduction to the volume in which the second is anthologized: "*Jungle Coup* was the second of three plays (after *Conjuring an Event* and before *The Vienna Notes*) in which Richard explored his obsession with the written word and with the possibilities of remaking history when the writing or reporting of it all but obliterates the truth."²

This article examines the three plays as linked, but the link that can be thought of as forming them into a trilogy is the creation of a self. The first dramatizes the creation; the second, the challenge to the creation from the depths of the jungle (Shattuck's third direction); the

third, the challenge from the heights of civilization (Shattuck's fourth direction).

Conjuring an Event opens in the Pen and Pencil Club. Of the four characters seated at the large wooden table, the first to speak is Charlie, the play's protagonist. From the table he lifts the plate over which his face with blindfolded eyes has been hovering and smashes it while yelling, "*Why can't I smell this!!*"³ None of the other three characters at the table reacts, although a fifth character, seated apart from the group, looks up from the newspaper he has been reading.

Charlie's soliloquies supply the exposition. Having proven himself as a reporter of sporting events, having exhausted the thrill of accounting for them, he wants to conjure one. Instead of in-depth reporting, he wants to "press unrestrained into absolute depth-reporting!" Instead of being outside an event looking at it after it happened, he wants to be "*inside looking out*" as it is happening (140). That is, he wants to be so sensitive to breaking news that he can cross the boundary separating the reporter from the event he reports by summoning the energy at life's core into an event. Not to summon the energy outside of himself into an event which he then can objectively report in a news story—by starting a fire, for example—but to summon the energy within himself so that he can report its flowing as an event.

Because the human being perceives events through the senses, Charlie primes his "to touch, taste, smell" the story out of himself. "To flush it out!" (140) He has his eyes blindfolded and his girlfriend seated next to him to ensure that he has a selection of plates, each of which contains an everyday item like salt, which by sniffing he tries to identify. That no one at the table reacts to the plate-smashing indicates that his companions are inured to his lack of success and frustration. Not only can he not conjure, he cannot report either.

The two modes of experiencing life are the play's two poles because they are two metaphors for two activities of the human mind. Conjuring, which is intuiting the world, is rooted in imagination. Reporting, which is analyzing the world, is rooted in apprehension. The play locates the first activity in the undifferentiating unconscious, which collects images, and the second activity in consciousness, which differentiates images into events and composes them into reports.⁴ They are the two poles because the development of consciousness from the unconscious has separated the mind into two halves, each forming a self and thereby separating the human being into a divided self.

Yet the division is not irreconcilable. In a reminiscence that recalls passages in O'Neill's *The Hairy Ape* and *Long Day's Journey into*

Night, one of the four characters at the table, a publisher, deplors the passing of the time when a reporter was so in harmony with life that he was a medium through whom the universe's energy flowed. That was before he was lured away from reporting by Hollywood's glitter and money. Although he is opposed to priming the senses to conjure because it is an attempt to induce an experience that he believes should occur naturally, from his description of reporting's golden age as an age of "magic" (143-44), a term associated with conjuring, reporting and conjuring were the same experience.

Charlie is too ambitious to be satisfied with nostalgia. He wants to reunite the two activities, as he states emphatically in the first soliloquy. Although he wants to go beyond "just facts and figures" and "natural observation," he also wants to "compile beyond understanding" (140). The verb is an activity of the conscious mind; the prepositional phrase is a location in the subconscious mind. With his reputation as a reporter of sporting events secure, he feels that he can give the "total involvement" (148) required to summon one, despite the danger. The publisher, who bolts from the room when he realizes that the reporter is priming to conjure, explains. Other reporters have attempted the feat, but invariably they came too close to the energy and either were singed by the surge of current and are no longer effective reporters or were burned and driven mad.

Charlie is well aware of the risk. To flush the story out of himself, he must activate his divided psyche, which means activating energy in a surge that could upset the psyche's equilibrium and thereby threaten his sanity. The audience hears the division from the moment the play begins. "Listen to the prep, Charlie" (139), begins the first of the play's many soliloquies in which the protagonist talks to himself as if he were two separate persons. In a sense, he is because his personality is split between an ego determined to expand consciousness and unknown nature hidden in the silent recesses of his being. So absorbed in his soliloquies that he unlocks his unconscious, he releases his hidden self, whose appearance is prefigured in the fifth character in the room, who leaves his seat apart from the group to confront the vacillating reporter as Act 1 ends, and who returns in Act 2 in the guises of old reporter and coach to appeal to his ego to continue pressing.

He does continue until the audience hears and sees the division healed in Act 2. The actor playing Charlie must be able to alternate voices and mannerisms to enact, as if in a boxing ring, the protagonist's two selves as they contest for dominance of him. As his conscious mind, or self, falls asleep, his flushed-out subconscious

mind, or self, takes possession of him and conjures with the repeated invocation, "Shapes arise!" (169) In the dialectics of the internal conflict externalized as a boxing match, his awakened consciousness takes possession of him with the repeated declaration, "I consume" (171), followed by a list of the shapes he incorporates into his story, his report of the event.

Even though the surge of the unconscious bloodies his mouth, consciousness wins the match. Before the unconscious can overwhelm the mind, driving Charlie mad by surging unchecked, consciousness assimilates its energy, as symbolized by the imagery of consuming. In the language of psychological growth, in the individual's process of creating a self, his ego-centered conscious personality acquires greater reality as it consumes contents of his unconscious.⁵

Act 2 is the creation, both of the new, whole self and the new, whole story. Charlie conjures an event in which he is the center looking out through his expanding consciousness. The first released shapes are rushing images of phrases in the physical making of a newspaper, but as the new self takes control, he focuses the rising shapes as reported images of specific historical events, such as Sadat's visit to Israel and Ali's whipping of Forman, until he reaches the crowning event: the creation of himself. An integrated self speaking in a new, assertive, voice, he transforms his energy into a story that merges conjuring and reporting. He begins his report by confessing to the audience that he always wanted to be a reporter, but as he assimilates conjured images to publish himself as a newspaper, he creates a new form: the news story as prose poem.

The new form manifests the new self creating it: and expanding "I" that is itself being created by an enormous ego that by turning inward for the newsworthy story activates the division in Charlie's psyche that the audience hears and sees. It is this enormous ego that opens the olfactory organ and releases the subconscious mind, surging in a "*flash powder explosion*" (164) into the protagonist's conscious mind. In the normal process of psychological growth, as consciousness assimilates contents of the unconscious, the individual's psychological center shifts from ego to created self. In *Conjuring an Event*, the surge is so powerful that assimilating consciousness cannot arrest the expansion. Ego creates a self that devours everything conjured in a Whitmanesque free verse that runs for pages in lines such as these: "I am the buyer, and I am the seller. The consumer and the consumed. I am the one and I am the many!!" (173)

Even if the new self wanted to curb the ego's appetite, the attempt would be thwarted by the audience's applause. Whenever Charlie wavers, the coach spurs him on by playing a tape of a cheering crowd and at one point by turning up the house lights so that he can see the spectators. Their presence activates in him a susceptibility as potentially dangerous as the susceptibility to his subjective processes. They activate the histrionic sensibility, further inflating his ego.

Creating a self can be, and frequently is, tragic. One must have an ego to want to create, yet the greater the ego the more monstrous the self created. In *Conjuring an Event*, however, the new self is described only as a “*bit monstrous*” (173) as it begins to emerge because Nelson forgoes tragedy for satire in a tone set early by the absurdity of sniffing salt as a preparation for enhancing one’s involvement in life. By Act 2 the absurdity of comedy becomes the exaggeration of satire.

Voracious Charlie presses beyond the normal assimilating stage in the individual's development to assume national and epic proportions. The voice that begins the transformation scene as the autobiographical "I" of the reporter recounting his early experiences becomes the mythic "I" of the Whitmanesque seer whose *Song of Myself* is a celebration of the one in the many and the many in the one—a vision both personal and cosmic. With a difference, however. The birth is a parody of the bard's discovery of his role as poet of an America which embraces all forms of life. Charlie's uncovered self conjures a catalogue of Americana to be consumed by the reporting self until the new self is hypertrophied but not imperial.⁶

There is no dignity to this act of gluttony. In his desire to expand consciousness so that he can be the best reporter, Charlie assimilates every image that the undifferentiated unconscious releases until his consciousness becomes undifferentiated but only because it is indiscriminate. "I consume every shitful act imaginable," he boasts, "every act of true love believable and sift out the hits from the flops" (171). A satire of self-creation, *Conjuring an Event* ends with him, bouncing and dancing, victorious in the boxing ring. "I said, Meeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeee! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! ! !" he chants, giving the "all-familiar #1 sign" (174) to an applauding audience as the coach snaps his photo.

I wish that we could pursue the creation of mythic and national selves in such plays as *Rip Van Winkle*, *Some Americans Abroad*, and *Two Shakespearean Actors*, but the trilogy takes us deeper into the creation of a personal self, the crucial event in Nelson's imaginative world, the event from which all other events follow, including the creation of a national self.

Jungle Coup, the second play, opens with the protagonists priming, not for conjuring but for reporting. The locale is a village in the African jungle. While his assistant, Mott, cranks the transmitter for his radio broadcast to editorial headquarters, the reporter, Hopper paces about "*mentally...readying himself*."⁷ Within moments of broadcasting, though, he becomes unhappy with the report, an unhappiness aggravated by Mott's failure to have ready a tape of recorded screams to simulate panic in support of his analysis. When the assistant, in answer to his request for a critique after he slams off the transmitter, tells the broadcaster that he thought the story "pretty smooth," Hopper directs his disgust at him, reminding the radio operator that a story is not supposed to be smooth, but is "supposed to grab" the audience. The kind of story does not matter. What does is that it release the energy at life's core so that it can "combust and explode and rage out of control." Only this kind of story will, in one of the trilogy's iterative images, "burn" the audience. Knowing that his "stale...tired...emotionless hackneyed canned shit" was not burning anyone, he slammed off the transmitter (243-44). On Mott's advice he leaves to take a break by walking around the village.

When he returns, he gives the kind of news story he has just described, one that rages out of control. He smells the "stench of confusion" and tastes a "madness" as he conjures the chaos overrunning the village. "I no longer see any reason," he reaches the climax in the image of unleashed energy burning everything in its path, "but an instinct, a gut without its shell, without skin, without clothes, bare AND BURNING ALIVE!!" Though his assistant plays the panic tape and he looks toward the village, Hopper, like Charlie in *Conjuring an Event*, is turned inward, feeling within himself "emotions running wild" and "foaming at the mouth" (250-51). No critique is necessary for this story because he felt the panic grab him.

Jungle Coup carries over from the earlier play the image of explosively surging energy and the tape of a cheering stadium crowd, which Mott comes across while searching for the panic tape. For the mind's two activities, the second play adds new terms to replace report and conjure. When Hopper returns from the break, he explains to Mott what he did wrong in his first broadcast. "I was trying to construct the touch—not present one. I was plotting, not feeling. So nothing was coming off gut-level. Now I know better"(247-48).

By separating the two activities, Hopper reveals his divided self. In the first instance, he builds a structure; in the second, he feels the collapse of the structure. Addressed by him as distinct activities, the

poles are manifested as separate experiences, each the subject of its own news story. When constructing, he composes verbal images to build a news story; recorded sound effects supply any needed emotional coloring. He does not integrate his verbal images with his feelings because they express separate realities. Intellectual reality, or activity, is expressed verbally as a report devoid of feeling. Emotional reality is expressed aurally as a conjuring of sounds from within himself devoid of composure.

Neither does he assimilate constructed verbal images or presented aural images with apprehended images from the sensory world. In his divided self, consciousness exerts control only in matters involving its own activity. When it attempts to structure other experiences—irrational emotional ones, for example—it inhibits their expression, and for panic to be genuine, it must rage. The sensory world is excluded from conscious assimilation for the same reason. The broadcaster disregards apprehended reality for imagined reality because if he reported what he saw in the jungle, he would be out of a job. There is no revolution outside himself. He has, in effect, increased the surge of energy in *Conjuring an Event* by asking and answering in the affirmative the following questions: If one can conjure his unconscious with its repository of archetypal images that fit all situations, why bother with apprehended images of an event? Why not simply imagine the event, in this case a jungle coup?

Hopper is not mad when the play opens. He broadcasts the ongoing coverage because a revolution is hot copy, and he maintains the equilibrium in his psyche by alternating the currents. Yet by maintaining the division between the two activities, he allows each to expand unchecked by the dialectical corrective that merging them creates. And they continue to expand until they generate a check, not from an uncritical public, but from rival media companies. If his media company devotes ongoing coverage to a revolution because there is an audience for it, competing companies want their own coverage. The play's third character, Bellows, is a reporter sent by his editors into the African jungle to report back the story to them.

Bellows is the agent that sparks the play's action. When Hopper realizes that the rival reporter will expose the deception that he has been perpetrating, he moves the transmitting station to another village, a location he plans to establish as the coup's new front. Claiming that both his editors and the rival editors will believe him and not Bellows because they will want to believe him—because a revolution is more newsworthy than a non-revolution—he sets off into a jungle to meet Mott, who will transport the supplies by jeep, at the new station.

Even though the electricity metaphor is developed comically, Charlie's ego alternates his conscious and subconscious currents until he can direct the flow into a unified flow—egomaniacal and gluttonous—but a sustained self nonetheless. Hopper alternates the currents within himself that build and collapse structures. He does not direct them into a unified flow that creates a sustained self; he transmits them. These currents, or activities of his conscious and subconscious mind, are the imagined stories that he broadcasts as ongoing coverage. Since in Nelson's trilogy the story created manifests the self that creates it, Hopper's can be called an imagined self. So long as his revolution is not challenged, he can continue transmitting it because it is ongoing within himself. Inevitable, however, as we have seen, the story will be challenged, and when that happens, he retreats into the jungle in search of a station from which to transmit unchallenged again.

The play's scenic design also reflects the self. The jungle into which Hopper flees is a stage analogue to his psyche, where the threatening external reality cannot flow. The map proves unreliable as a guide through the uncharted landscape. His watch stops, leaving him in suspended time. And Bellows removes the transmitter battery, breaking off his communication with the outside world.

The pattern of psychological growth is the same throughout the trilogy. Before he can create a self, each protagonist must release the energy within himself with which to create. This discovery is the third of the four directions that Shattuck suggests modern man has taken in his search for self-discovery. The direction is inward to the subjective process, and the journey is perilous, for the quester can get lost in the interior. Charlie has a girlfriend, a brother, and finally a coach standing by him. Hopper has no one because he chooses to be alone. His sole connection with external reality is his assumption that there is an audience to whom he transmits his subjective processes, or alternating currents: the energy that is his imagined story and self. Once Bellows prevents transmission by removing the battery, he loses his one outlet, and the energy can only intensify within him. He is trapped in his imagination.

To stay "hot" (259) as he treks through the jungle, Hopper practices for his next broadcast. He constructs an account of a political assassination, with a description borrowed from the the Kennedy motorcade assassination, and then presents panic, which for him is screaming. Neither verbal nor aural reality can sustain him, however. Without audience approval, he cannot be sure how the broadcast plays.

With the jungle sounds getting louder, he loses confidence in his judgement about what constitutes a good report, so that with each

attempt he imagines a more sensational happening until he is broadcasting a massacre of civilians and a cannibalistic ceremony. Trapped, his energy so increases in alternating currents that one short-circuits the other. Never having been called upon to assimilate contents of the unconscious or apprehended images, his consciousness is inadequate to the task of seizing the rushing images, and his control breaks down.

He has fallen victim to the danger Charlie is warned about. Having released the irrational in himself, his imagined self unravels as the encroaching sounds become “*very much like gales of laughter*” (259). They are both a comment on his deteriorating mental state and his progressively fantastic reports, for he is lost. In a scene parodying Marlow’s vision of the bonfire ceremony the night he wrestles with his and Kurtz’s soul in *Heart of Darkness*, Hopper cannot tell whether or not he is imagining, and he jumps or falls from what he sees as a waterfall onto rocks below, where he imagines that in a gorge he is rescued by Mott and Bellows, who have been scouring the jungle for him.

Like the transformation scene in *Conjuring an Event*, this too could be the stuff of tragedy: a parable of the artist, who must pay a terrible price for mining his subconscious mind for his art. But Nelson is not writing tragedy. In fact, *Jungle Coup* goes beyond the satire of the first play to become farce.

In the depths of the interior, Hopper turns and confronts the theatre audience, soliciting its help in regaining control of himself by communicating with him. Taking centerstage and shouting down the sounds of encroaching madness—“Go ahead you noisy fuckers! I’m ready for you!” (265)—he lists the events he can invoke, asking the audience to indicate its preference. His repertory is mad: interviews with Amelia Earheart,⁸ the Lindberg baby, Hitler in a secret bomb shelter, Jimmy Hoffa with Mary Jo Kopeckne; scenes from nature, spoiled or unspoiled; starving children, lepers, and so on. When his trump card, conjured panic, fails to excite the house, he is in despair until he imagines himself playing with children and hitting a home run. As he presents the event, the spectators go crazy, “dancing on their seats” until the “stands are vibrating!” (269) The scene ends as he, seated onstage, puts down the microphone in front of the seated audience.

Burned-out, he quits broadcasting, leaving behind him the transmitting equipment for which he no longer has any use. In the play’s closing scene, he tells an amazed Mott and Bellows that Hopper

died of a football injury as sixty thousand silent spectators in the stadium watched. But, they asked, "If Hopper is dead, then who are you?" Unable to chant Charlie's victorious self-assertion, he answers as he exits, "Nobody. (Pause) Nobody important" (272). He has failed to create a sustained self.

The trilogy is most satirical when an audience is introduced. Bellows learns what Hopper knows: that editors want coverage of a revolution, whether it exists in the sensory world or in the mind. When the protagonist exits, his former rival picks up the microphone and while cranking the transmitter broadcasts a story how reporter Hopper has been found alive after being kidnapped and tortured by the rebels. It is fitting therefore that the trilogy's concluding play creates a self that Hopper fails to. This undertaking is the fourth of the four directions that Shattuck suggests modern man has taken for self-discovery: in his histrionic sensibility.

When the protagonist of *The Vienna Notes* says in the play's opening scene, "See if it plays....Get yourself ready. 'Cause this kinda thing you gotta get while it's hot,"⁹ he sounds like reporters Charlie and Hopper. He does not look like them, though. Nor does he act like them. He is one of civilization's finest who write, not for a newspaper, but in a form reserved for the privileged. A U.S. Senator who lost the presidential election in a close contest, he is in Vienna at the invitation of a committee to give a lecture. He is accompanied, as always, by his secretary, whose primary responsibility is to write, as he verbalizes, his memoirs. "Entry" (74) and "story" (77) are the play's terms for a unit of dictation.

Senator Stubbs; secretary Rivers; and a second women, Georgia, the committee chairwoman, are in the hotel suite booked for him by the chairwoman, who becomes progressively more upset that neither he nor is secretary responds to the preparations she has gone through to make his stay in Vienna enjoyable. Just before leaving, she explodes, cursing his lack of courtesy and sensitivity. Once she leaves, Stubbs dictates the entry while Rivers records. He became aware of Georgia's presence when he felt the anger rising in her voice. Lkening it to a spreading rash, he resigned himself to suffering through it because a Senator is accustomed to intrusions wherever he goes, although he wanted to yell at her to shut up.

This first entry, which sets the pattern for all subsequent ones, reveals the memoirs' theme. Petty as it is, Georgia's outburst is nonetheless one more instance of the sudden surge of the irrational in life, transformed by the Senator revealed in the memoirs as a calm,

deliberate man for whom the irrational is that which, intruding upon his consciousness, is brought under control by his consciousness. He apprehends images in the external world but as impressions and sensations which trigger feelings in him, which he controls and transforms through his expression of them in the memoirs. His self is the measure of reality, and his expression, his verbal images, is the means of creating the self.

The opening scene functions as a prologue, and the closing scene as an epilogue. The six intervening scenes of *The Vienna Notes* take place at Georgia's farmhouse outside the city to which the chairwomen invites Stubbs and Rivers for dinner. These six scenes should be thought of as the play proper. As Scene 2 opens, the three characters enter the farmhouse. Stubbs dictates his impressions and sensations experienced during the car ride from the hotel, Rivers writes, and Georgia calls for her husband to come greet the guest. Within minutes the house is attacked by masked terrorists who have killed the husband. Rivers firing of Georgia's handgun repulses them temporarily.

There is a logic to Hopper's journey in *Jungle Coup*. When he releases panic in himself to present to his audience, he initiates his fate. Since he relies on subjective processes as the sole source of reality, it is only just that he confront by himself the terror of the encroaching irrational. Stubbs, on the other hand, is attacked by the irrational in life in the persons of terrorists who, in a phone call in Scene 3, give their demand. They will allow Rivers and Georgia to leave unharmed if he surrenders to them, for they want him and not the women. In each subsequent scene the terror comes closer, climaxing in Scene 7 with the blasting of the door off its hinges. What the Senator does to withstand the siege is the play's plot.

The most civilized of Nelson's three protagonists dictates, except that is not the right term. *The Vienna Notes* does not add new specialized terms for the two activities. The terms most often used are *think* and *feel*. Stubbs thinks before he verbalizes the entry, which in a series of impressions and sensations transformed into a story of an event, and he feels the event while verbalizing it. Although he uses the same process throughout, it is most clear at the opening of Scene 3, where he is "*standing and thinking*: ...Okay. Maybe. Then: door. Then: duck. Then: bang. Then: okay. Right." When he has the correct sequence of impressions and sensations set in his mind and "*envisions*" the scene in his imagination, he begins (82). If he feels the event, in this or any entry, as he did at the time of the experience, he is "*into*" it (74). The story is playing; grabbing him, it will "grab" the audience (79). Thus he neither reports-constructs as a separate

activity nor cojnures-presents as a separate activity but integrates the two in his verbally expressed histrionic sensibility.

Acting or preforming is the most accurate description of what Stubbs does. In an author's note appended to the text, which complements Shattuck's discussion of the histrionic sensibility, Nelson defends the Senator's acting as being consistent with man's instinctive need to express himself: "The dramatic, or the art of acting our feelings, is a civilized means of getting ourselves across, understood, and empathized with" (102).

In Scene 3, Stubbs acts out for Rivers how Georgia should have revealed her discovery of her husband's body. He criticizes her sudden scream of panic (and by implication Hopper's screaming) because it lacks control. He does not use Hopper's term *construct*, but he argues for structure in drama. If the series of impressions and sensations has a "built in thing" (79), it lends itself to story transformation. If not, he must build the structure into it in the transformation. "Where's the build in that?" he criticizes Georgia's scream (81). At the same time, though he does not use Hopper's term *present*, he faults structure at the expense of feeling. At one point encouraging Rivers to express her feelings, he tells her to start again. "More...immediacy, I think. Know what I mean? It sounds like you have it all figured out" (93). In the same scene he snaps off Georgia's expression for "faking the emotion" (94).

What is wrong, then, with the spontaneous scream of panic is that it lacks the control of drama. A dramatic event implies actors and an audience, and as we have seen in the trilogy, an audience expects appearance rather than raw reality and the more conspicuous the better, for in a media-programmed society, power resides in the image rather than in the thing itself. The three characters lose their tempers during the siege, scream to relieve the tension, and even get physical with one another, but by performing control, they create the appearance of control, deterring the terror's advance.

Panic also lacks the control of civilization. Since civilized man controls his environment, creating a civilized self is the mission of every man who wants to control the emotions and feelings triggered in him by life's sudden attacks of irrational terror. His civilized consciousness must assimilate the incursions of the savage unconscious id. To accomplish that, he must transform unleashed panic and encroaching madness by integrating reporting and conjuring, constructing and presenting, thinking and feeling in his verbally expressed histrionic sensibility.

Of Nelson's three protagonists, Stubb's would appear to be the most integrated. Yes, but only *appear to be*. In reality, he is not. He too stands exposed by the satire. Scene 8 occurs two years after the blasting of the door off its hinges. He and his secretary are again visiting Vienna, but the audience never learns what finally happened at the farmhouse. He does not want to talk about that day because he is tired of the story.

Nelson's third protagonist is not defeated, but his triumph is hollow, the consequence of his strategy of trivializing his encounter with the irrational by detaching himself from its power. The play's epilogue, Scene 8 is a reading of the memoirs' entry in which the Senator on election night learned that the initial reporting of Ohio in his column was a mistake and that by losing the state, he had lost the presidency. But he would not break down and cry as others at the campaign headquarters were doing. He would lose with dignity, a man in control of himself.

That is a description not of the protagonist, but of the personality the protagonist's performance created for the memoirs. It is a persona: a stage or public self. Aware throughout of the strain caused by acting a role for posterity, Stubbs relaxes and asks Rivers to read the election night story, which he considers giving that night for his lecture. He will imagine himself among the listeners so that he can gauge audience reaction. About himself Charlie can say, "*I am!...Me!*" while about himself Hopper has to say that he is "Nobody." The trilogy closes with Stubbs' response to a self manifested apart from himself. "I really do feel for that man. And so will they. It will play. It will play. It will play" (101).

The author's note appended to the text contains a paragraph on the "notion of HISTORY" as it supplants the traditional "notion of HEAVEN." In an age which renders the soul and its struggle for immortality irrelevant, the citizen of the modern world achieves immortality with future generations by "attempting to create as good, exciting, and empathetic a personality as he can" (102). The irony is that in securing a place in history, he may have to ignore history.

During the Astor Place riot that erupted in New York City in 1849, 34 people died and over 100 more were injured. That historical event is the basis of Nelson's *Two Shakespearean Actors*. At the height of the riot, the playwright has the American actor, who is discussing the art of acting with his British counterpart, scream at the rioters, "I told you before, to just leave us alone!!!!!"¹⁰

Like the riot, the revolution in *The Vienna Notes* is real, but whether real or not, the end result is the same as in *Jungle Coup*, where the revolution is imagined. Though each play's protagonist is more susceptible to the stimulus flowing from one part of his nature than from the other—the artist to his subjective processes and the Senator to his histrionic sensibility—for both, internal events take precedence over external ones. Now we can appreciate Nelson's forgoing tragedy for satire in creating a personal self. It is the American measure of reality. Even the one protagonist who embraces the world does so to absorb it. Charlie inflates the personal self into a national self: a figure of conspicuous consumption.

In the clarity of its metaphors and images, of its creation of a self and challenges to that creation, I know of no better introduction than Nelson's trilogy to the overriding concern with the creation of a self, personal or national, in the contemporary American theatre.

NOTES

¹*The Innocent Eye: On Modern Literature & the Arts* (New York: Farrar, 1984), p. 114.

²Introduction, *Plays from Playwrights Horizons* (New York: Broadway Play Publishing, 1987), p. vi.

³*Conjuring an Event, An American Comedy and Other Plays* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1984), p. 139. Hereafter to be cited in the text. I have retained Nelson's eccentric punctuation throughout, even when a line is followed by ten exclamation points.

⁴The reporter as a figure of consciousness is not unique to Nelson's plays. He/She is the voice of consciousness in Len Jenkin's *Kid Twist* and Susan Yankowitz's *Night Sky*, for example.

⁵For a succinct analysis of the imagery of eating and digesting, see Erich Neumann, *The Origins and History of Consciousness*, trans. R.F.C. Hull, Bolligen Series XLII (1954; Princeton: Princeton/Bolligen Paperbacks-Princeton UP, 1973), pp. 30 and 336.

⁶The references are to Quentin Anderson's studies of the creation of self in classic American literature. See, for example, *The Imperial Self: An Essay in American Literary and Cultural History* (New York: Knopf, 1971).

⁷*Jungle Coup, Plays from Playwrights Horizons* (New York: Broadway Play Publishing, 1987), p. 240. Hereafter to be cited in the text.

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⁸I cannot tell whether the misspelling of Earhart is intentional or a typographical error.

⁹*The Vienna Notes, Word Plays: An Anthology of New American Drama* (New York: PAJ Publications, n.d.), p. 74. Hereafter to be cited in the text.

¹⁰*Two Shakespearean Actors* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990), p. 102.

**WAUGH'S *THE LOVED ONE*:
A CLASSIC/ROMANTIC PARADIGM**

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Evelyn Waugh's *The Loved One* can, like its precursor *A Handful of Dust*, be read as a critique of nineteenth-century values and *mores*. *A Handful of Dust* dealt with those values as they pertained to private life, and explored the failure of humanism to provide sufficient social and moral structure. *The Loved One*, on the other hand, specifically questions the dilemma of the artist; here Romanticism, as opposed to the more general concept of nineteenth-century humanism, is the object of Waugh's ire. Like Eliot, Waugh considered himself philosophically and artistically a classicist, and he blamed Romanticism—especially the extremes to which the Romantic ethos was carried during the course of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries—for setting up a false religion in opposition to the true.

In *The Loved One* Waugh successfully associated the Romantic impulse not with the life force, but with *thanatos*. His spotlighting of James, Poe and Tennyson as the Victorian heirs to Shelley and Keats emphasizes the overripe, the decadent, the morbid. The cult of death at Whispering Glades (the great American necropolis, closely modeled on Los Angeles' Forest Lawn Cemetery) is a natural outcome, Waugh posits, of the Romantic aesthetic. The social historian Philippe Aries affirms that it was the early part of the Romantic age that initiated the fear of and the fascination with death; Waugh blames that era for the cult of death without God that has continued into the modern age. With this novel Waugh contributes his own part to the modernist critical symposium on Classical *versus* Romantic art, though his Eliotic credenda are cleverly concealed within the Hollywood satire.

The novel's hero, Dennis Barlow, is a jaunty young man who made a name for himself as a war poet. With the end of World War II, at loose ends, he accepts an offer to come to Hollywood to write a life of Shelley for the cinema. After this project falls through, Dennis gets a job in a pet cemetery and stays on in Los Angeles, sharing a house with another expatriate, Sir Francis Hinsley, an elderly belle-lettrist turned scriptwriter. When Hinsley commits suicide, Dennis goes to Whispering Glades to arrange for the funeral. There he falls in love with Aimee Thanatogenos, the beautiful but mysterious mortuary cosmetologist; he has a competitor for her favors, however, in the person of the glamorous Chief Embalmer, Mr. Joyboy.

Superficially, *The Loved One* is a baroque and farcical reweaving of the central Jamesian themes of love and death, innocence and experience, America and Europe, around the inner kernel of theological commentary, connected by Waugh's vision of America as a land of exiles. As Waugh's reading of Dickens in the jungle of Guiana enabled him to add the depth and framework necessary to *A Handful of Dust*, so his first readings of James, begun just before his journey to the United States, pervade that book. In late 1946, shortly before his departure for New York, he writes in his diary: "What an enormous, uncovenanted blessing to have kept Henry James for middle age and to turn, as the door shuts behind the departing guest, to a first reading of *Portrait of a Lady*."¹

The Loved One is as permeated with echoes of James as *A Handful of Dust* is with those of Dickens. Though no student of American literature, Waugh instinctively grasped its appositeness to the theme that Forest Lawn invoked. His novel is virtually a disquisition on Leslie Fiedler's definition of American fiction as, "bewilderingly and embarrassingly, a gothic fiction, nonrealistic and negative, sadist and melodramatic—a literature of darkness and the grotesque in a land of light and affirmation."²

Throughout the novel, Waugh plays with the contiguity of love and death—the special preoccupation of Romanticism in decline—and emphasizes the peculiar mannerisms imposed upon the literature of the later nineteenth century. If James's novels act as the *ur-text* for *The Loved One*, manifold other nineteenth-century authors are invoked to provide its texture.

Dennis's arrival in California as Hollywood's answer to Shelley quickly sets the tone for the literary aura that will follow, as does the film studio's ludicrous transformation of film star Juanita del Pablo ("surly, luscious and sadistic"³) into an Irish colleen—both *personae* of course being highly-colored clichés of archetypal romance. The *topos* of Romantic parody is picked up by Dennis in his private pursuit of Romance; since he does not write the Shelley film (which would surely have been parodic) he transfers his field of travesty to the personal level. The parodic poems Dennis sends Aimee are almost all nineteenth century masterpieces, all dealing, in some manner, with death. He parodies Cory's "Heraclitus": "They told me, Francis Hinsley, they told me you were/ hung/ With red protruding eye-balls and black protruding/ tongue" (85); he parodies Poe's "To Helen": "Aimee, thy beauty is to me/ Like those Nycaean barks of yore (130);" he claims authorship of Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale": "...For many a time/ I

have been half in love with easeful death;" he parodies Richard Middleton's "Any Lover, Any Lass": "Her little hands are soft and when I see her fingers move/I know in very truth that men/Have died for less than love"(120). (Waugh grotesquely juxtaposes this parody with the activity Aimee is performing at the time she reads the verse: "She put the manuscript in the pocket of her linen smock and her little soft hands began to move over the dead face"(120). This also recalls, perhaps purposely, Browning's strangled Porphyria with her "little neck" and "little head"). Most notably, though, Dennis parodies Tennyson. Waugh shared with Eliot a virtual obsession with Tennyson; along with Dickens, he was for Waugh the most redoubtable of the great Victorians—impossible to emulate, impossible to ignore. " 'Now sleeps the crimson petal, now the white,' had struck bang in the centre of the bull, but [Dennis] knew few poems so high and rich and voluptuous"(106). When Dennis attempts to write an elegy for Francis Hinsley, the first thing he is able to come up with is a burlesque of Tennyson's "Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington":

Bury the great Knight
With the studio's valediction
Let us bury the great Knight
Who was once the arbiter of popular fiction.(85)

Most importantly, he quotes "Tithonus": "I wither slowly in thine arms,/ Here at the quiet limit of the world." With its pagan, Classical and Romantic elements all focusing on the theme of *thanatos*, this is the central quotation for this novel about, and composed of, quotations.

In indulging in parodic art, Dennis is doing nothing more nor less than getting into the spirit of Whispering Glades, for that necropolis itself specializes in nineteenth-century parody. The Wee Kirk o' Auld Lang Syne is dedicated to Robert Burns, a poet whose "warmest admirers," Waugh felt, "can hardly claim that he has anything to offer except a purely superficial charm. He writes in a dialect which renders his work either repugnant or additionally endearing, according as one's sympathies tend"⁴—there being no doubt, of course, of the tendency of Waugh's own. Aimee sits and thinks about Death and Art on the "Lake Isle of Innisfree;" Mr. Kaiser, the fruit magnate who has buried his family there, sponsors a weekly radio program of Wagner. In the Slumber Room, where the corpses are laid out for viewing, a canned version of "Oh, for the Wings of a Dove" is played in direct reference to James.

It is possible to see the development of Waugh's concept of the theme of nineteenth-century art in the manuscript changes; his original idea was to have Dennis crib his verses from the collected poems of Christina Rossetti, then he changed it to those of Tennyson, and finally broadened it to the entire *Oxford Book of English Verse*. Thus he makes his point less obvious while still keeping the Rossetti/Tennyson flavor in the poems cited— as well as being able to make the apt addition of Poe.

Another change Waugh made in manuscript was in the initial description of Aimee Thanatogenos. After the word "decadent," the second draft continues the description with references to nineteenth century painting:

Not perhaps with the rich overtones of Toulouse-Lautrec; rather Pre-Raphaelite. She was like a Rossetti watercolour in the mahogany panelled dining room of a Gateshead magnate, not one of those voluptuous denizens of the King's Road tricked out in renaissance costume but rather a product of his submission to Ruskin...⁵

As with the changing of the anthologies from the specifically Victorian Tennyson and Christina Rossetti to the more general *Oxford Book of English Verse*, Waugh perhaps felt that here he was making his point too obvious. Also, though all the art he cites in the book is of the most lush and overripe, his purpose is to keep his own prose crisp and classical, giving away nothing, eschewing not only moral but also aesthetic judgment. Thus, though his heroine's fate is finally the same as Milly Theale's, her last hours are stripped of gauze and romance and are presented in repugnant detail, as she is cremated in the furnace of the pet cemetery, with Dennis raking out the ashes and pounding up the pelvis. Waugh takes the raw materials of Romantic art and, removing the stage props, exposes it in its barren nakedness. Dead, Aimee is an object not of idealization but simply of deadness; even her Romantic admirer, Mr. Joyboy, feels that Daisy Miller ultimately elicits respect and sentiment from the men who have taken advantage of her innocence; Aimee, more appropriately, is remembered only through an annual card from the Happier Hunting Ground.

Sir Harold Acton makes an interesting passing remark about *The Loved One* in his autobiography: "There is so much of Evelyn's brand of humour in this tale that it stands in relation to his *oeuvre* as *Un Coeur simple* to Flaubert's. Evelyn was little versed in French

literature, so it must be a coincidence that a parrot held the same place in Mrs. Joyboy's affections as in the good Felicite's."⁶ But in youth, Waugh had shown an interest in French literature, especially that of the nineteenth century, as his diaries demonstrate. It seems more than likely that Waugh was acquainted with *Un Coeur simple*, and, with that in mind, Mrs. Joyboy's parrot takes on a central thematic importance. It is to be remembered that Felicite in her simplicity allows her parrot to become the focus not only of her affections but of her religious impulses. When she dies and has her final beatific vision, Christ himself has taken on the glimmering green plumage of the parrot.

This suits Waugh's purpose very well. Thematically, *The Loved One* is closely related to *A Handful of Dust*; in his review, Desmond MacCarthy recognized that it is an "exposure of the silly optimistic trend in modern civilization which takes for granted that the consolations of religion can be enjoyed without belief in them, its symbols and associations remain beautiful when they have ceased to mean anything."⁷ With his invocation of the Romantic artists and their Victorian heirs, Waugh is viciously attacking those artists who, he implies, are the great secularizers of art.

Waugh would agree with Hulme that Romanticism is spilt religion:

Put shortly, these are the two views, then. One, that man is intrinsically good, spoilt by circumstance; and the other that he is intrinsically limited, but disciplined by order and tradition to something fairly decent. To the one party man's nature is like a well, to the other like a bucket. The view which regards man as a well, a reservoir full of possibilities, I call romantic; the one which regards him as a very finite and fixed creature, I call the classical.⁸

Waugh would have it that the Romantic artists, in raising man's creations to the status of God's, have trivialized and ultimately desanctified the work of art; by divorcing it from its religious source it has become an artifact rather than a masterpiece. In the conflict between Dennis and Mr. Joyboy, as they compete for the vacant modern mind and heart of Aimee, Waugh has given a brilliant paradigm of the Romantic and Classical attitudes to art. Mr. Joyboy is, in fact, the Romantic artist taken to his full parodic extreme:

'Had they been mother and child I should have taken both, busy though I am. There is something in individual technique—not everyone would notice it perhaps; but if I saw a pair that had been embalmed by different hands I should know at once and I should feel that the child did not properly belong to its mother; as though they had been estranged in death. Perhaps I see whimsical?'⁹

Mr. Joyboy is known at Whispering Glades as a "true artist." His work is an expression of his feelings, his personality—when he is crossed in love, his corpses look morose, when he is elated, they mirror his soul (" 'Miss Thanatogenos, for you the Loved Ones just naturally smile...It seems I am just powerless to prevent it. When I am working for you there's something inside me says "He's on his way to Miss Thanatogenos" and my fingers just seem to take control' " (69)).

Dennis, on the other end of the spectrum, is a parodic version of Eliot's traditional, Classical poet. "What happens is a continual surrender of himself as he is at the moment to something which is more valuable. The progress of an artist is a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality."¹⁰ Dennis would seem to have taken this dictum of Eliot's to heart as Mr. Joyboy has not; his "poetry" is *fully* an "extinction of personality," a complete "self-sacrifice." "We shall often find," writes Eliot,

that not only the best, but the most individual parts of [the poet's] work may be those in which the dead poets, his ancestors, assert their immortality most vigorously...No poet, no artist of any art, has his complete meaning alone. His significance, his appreciation is the appreciation of his relation to the dead poets and artists. You cannot value him alone; you must set him, for contrast and comparison, among the dead. (4)

Dennis has absorbed this philosophy to the point where his "poems" are nothing more than the literal transcriptions of the masterpieces of his dead ancestors, with only a word changed here or there.

It is no accident that both Eliot and Waugh use death-imagery. The Romantic artist tries to deny death by asserting the immortality of the personality via the work of art (a process symbolized by Mr. Joyboy's fruitless attempts to breathe life into the dead body); the Classical artist

accepts his own eventual relegation to oblivion by becoming one with a tradition greater than himself.

Hence the necessity for the crudity and abrasiveness that so many readers have found offensive in the character of Dennis Barlow. The Classical poet must dissociate himself from the distorting power of emotion, according to Eliot: "the more perfect the artist, the more completely separate in him will be the man who suffers and the mind which creates. It is not the 'greatness,' the intensity, of the emotions, the components, but the intensity of the artistic process that counts" (7-8).

Waugh has brilliantly contrived to insert the *lotos* of Romantic and Classical art unobtrusively into the fabric of his satire; and properly read, *The Loved One* is a more succinct and valuable contribution to the literature of the subject than are his more straightforward disquisitions, too often marred by dogmatism and irritability.

NOTES

¹Evelyn Waugh, *Diaries*. ed Michael Davie. (Penguin Books, 1984), p. 663.

²Leslie Fieldler, *Love and Death in the American Novel* (Penguin Books, 1984), p. 29.

³Evelyn Waugh, *The Loved One* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1948), p. 3.

⁴Evelyn Waugh, "The Books You Read." *Graphic* 8 Nov. 1930, p. 277.

⁵Quoted by Robert M Davis in *Evelyn Waugh, Writer* (Norman, Oklahoma: Pilgrim Books, 1981), p. 201.

⁶Harold Acton, *More Memoirs of an Aesthete* (London: Methuen, 1970), p. 224.

⁷Quoted in Martin Stannard, ed *Evelyn Waugh: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), p. 309.

⁸T. E. Hulme, "Romanticism and Classicism." In *Speculations*. ed Herbert Read. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co, 1961), p. 117.

⁹*The Loved One*, p. 71.

¹⁰T. S. Eliot, "Tradition and the Individual Talent." In *T. S. Eliot: Selected Essays* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1950), pp. 67.

**REMEMBERING AND DIS(RE)MEMBERING:
MEMORY, COMMUNITY AND THE INDIVIDUAL IN
*BELOVED***

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In a 1986 interview, Toni Morrison described the reclamation of African-American history as being “paramount in its importance” (Davis Interview 142). In her own words, “You have to stake it out and identify those who have preceded you—resummoning them, acknowledging them is just one step in that process of reclamation—so that they are always there as the confirmation and the affirmation” of African-American life (143). Just as Morrison views the reclamation of black history as confirming and affirming present black culture, she sees personal and community memory as a healing and integrating force in the life of the individual.

All of her novels are, as Ashraf Rushdy notes, “studies in the process of rememory in characters’ lives” (303). Furthermore, as Missy Dehn Kubitschek points out, in each work any attempt at “jettisoning history” is “doomed and dooming” (168). In *Sula* “memory repeatedly enacts a creative and creatively healing function” (Grant 100). Similarly, in *Song of Solomon* and *Tar Baby*, memory has the potential to reintegrate and heal, if only the characters in these novels will remember and accept their pasts. Milkman Dead and Jadine Childs have “forgotten [their] ancient properties” (*Tar Baby* 305); they have denied their cultural history, lost touch with family heritage, and repressed personal memories. Milkman’s spiritual salvation lies in his trip south where “the past [he] comes to know liberates him” (Cowert 89). Any chance of Jadine gaining psychological and emotional integrity, of healing self-inflicted spiritual wounds, lies in her ability to accept both her family and cultural history.¹ As Ondine puts it, she “has got to be a daughter first” before she genuinely can become anyone else (281). In her sixth novel, *Jazz*, the memory of Dorcas is “a sickness in the house” for Violet Trace, but for her husband, Joe, who is both Dorcas’s lover and murderer, it is “his necessary thing” (28). Only when Violet and Joe Trace come to terms with their conflicting memories involving Dorcas, and involving many other events as well, do they reach reconciliation.

While an element in each of Morrison’s novels, memory as a healing and integrating force is perhaps nowhere more apparent than in *Beloved*. For each character, but especially for Sethe, remembering is a necessary step in the process of reclaiming personal history, defining

and confirming the present self, and affirming and staking a claim on the future. As Terry Otten and others note, Sethe herself must remember; she requires “a reconciliation with her past” before she can gain “the self-knowledge necessary to her freedom” (Otten 82). Furthermore, memory must take Sethe as its object as well. For Sethe, who stands outside her community, being remembered by that community is equally important, for being remembered is necessary to reintegration into it. Therefore, remembering becomes re-membering in two ways. First, through memory Sethe has the opportunity to become whole, her fragmented self can be rejoined, re-membered, and she can experience the “recuperation of her own identity” (Davis Question 154). Secondly, by being remembered by the community Sethe is saved from the haunted isolation of 124. She is taken in as a member of the society that shunned and was shunned by her—she is re-membered into the community.

Memory is necessary; yet, memory is inevitably painful for the newly freed slaves, especially for the women, in *Beloved*. Sethe begins each day with the “serious work of beating back the past” (73). Like Baby Suggs, who saw all but one of her children carried away, like Ella, who gave birth to the product of white men’s rape only to let it die, like most of the Black mothers and daughters living in Cincinnati in 1874, Sethe “works hard to remember as close to nothing as was safe” (8). Even so, she has lapses of forgetfulness when she “bumps into a rememory” (36), and the faces of her lost children or the lost language of the mother she hardly knew come back. Despite the pain of remembering, Sethe initially recognizes the danger of complete forgetfulness, of “disremembering.” She scolds Baby Suggs for not letting herself remember more and, years later, welcomes Paul D who brings “trust and rememory” (99), “new pictures and old rememories that broke her heart” (95).

Karen Fields, in her reading of *Beloved* as “a meditation upon the nature of love” (169), points out that “what appears in the personage of Beloved as disembodied demand appears in that of Paul D as embodied kindness” (161). In their rivalry for Sethe’s affection, Beloved and Paul D also come to represent two opposing types of remembering. The first, represented by Paul D, is the healthy, if painful, shared recollection of the past that would allow Sethe to affirm and confirm her present self and to rediscover the community denied her for 18 years. The second, represented by Beloved, is the isolating, consuming obsession with a personal past that Sethe has never fully come to terms with.² By chasing the spirit from 124, Paul D momentarily releases

Sethe from the enchantment of a past she would like to forget but is reminded of every day. The past returns, however, this time literally embodied in the shape of Sethe's dead daughter. Beloved's presence at 124 has a paradoxical effect on Sethe. On the one hand, it persuades Sethe that she no longer has to remember her painful past; on the other hand, under the spell of Beloved's insatiable desire, Sethe can't stop herself from obsessively remembering, confessing and apologizing for her act of infanticide.

Sethe is in the middle of an uncalled memory of Sweet Home "rolling, rolling, rolling out before her eyes" when she sees Paul D, the last of the Sweet Home men, sitting on her front porch (6). With his "new pictures and old rememories" (95), Paul D gently pushes Sethe into (re)visionary re-remembering. Seeing the three shadows holding hands on the day of the carnival, Sethe has a visionary glimpse into a future that depends on "managing the news Paul D brought and the news he kept to himself" (97). If she can revision, reassess and manage this past, painful as it may be, she might attain her envisioned future. Similarly, if she can manage the "breaking up" necessary to sharing Paul D's memories, she can re-member herself and finally become whole as she comes to terms with the sorrow, guilt and pain she has tried to keep to herself. Recalling the words of the white runaway, Amy, and her own lifeless feet during her escape from Sweet Home, she tells Denver, "anything dead coming back to life hurts" (35). Denver recognizes this as "a truth for all time." Sethe's dead memories, resurrected by Paul D's new ones, bring hurt, but a healing hurt that could potentially reintegrate, rejoin, re-member the fragmented parts of Sethe.

The remembering initiated by Paul D's arrival is interrupted by Beloved's palpable presence. Significantly, Beloved "disremembers everything" (118). Dead before she could talk, her memory never moves beyond the pre-symbolic. Although she communicates through language, she "talks funny" and recalls only disconnected, obscure images of her mother's face (which she refers to as her own), a bridge, and one man on the other side. Her indecipherable images reflect the pre-verbal, chaotically incommunicable nature of her memories and, simultaneously, parallel Sethe's unwillingness to communicate her own sorrow, pain and guilt with others in the community. Beloved also represents repressed memory and the isolating guilt associated with it. Though repressed, or perhaps because repressed, this memory is initially stronger than that represented by Paul D. As Beloved physically moves Paul D from bedroom to kitchen to shed and finally

off the premises of 124, repressed memory replaces the (re)visionary remembering that could be Sethe's salvation.

With the recognition of Beloved as her lost daughter, a recognition that, significantly, occurs only after Paul D is gone, Sethe believes that she is free to forget her most painful memory, killing her beloved baby girl. "I don't have to remember nothing, I don't even have to explain," she thinks, "She understands it all" (183). She also believes she can forget the events that followed that fateful action: her jail term, the trade she makes for Beloved's tombstone, her sons' desertion, Baby Suggs's despair, and, most importantly, the isolation she has experienced since Beloved's death. In fact, she looks forward to more intense isolation. Abandoning Paul D's suggestion that "there was a world out there and [she] could live in it," she thinks, "The world is in this room"; "there is no world outside my door" (182-84).

As Kate Cummings points out, "forgetting is a feature of isolation—of ignoring the bonds between peoples and suppressing/repressing the link up of events" (555). Both temporally and spatially Sethe isolates herself. "Wrapped in a timeless present" (184), her mind "busy with things she could forget" (191), Sethe loses first her sense of responsibility for her living daughter, then her job, and, consequently, any reason to walk beyond the confines of 124. For a full winter month (ironically reminiscent of the one summer month of friendship and family at 124), she and her "daughters" spend a childish honeymoon wasting time and resources on cooking games, sewing games, hair and dressing games. Like children at play they seem unaware of all but the immediate time and place. This temporal and spatial isolation, so Edenic at first, inevitably turns hellish.

As Denver soon realizes, "the players were altered" (241); Beloved has metamorphosed from the lost daughter craving the emotional equivalent of her mother's milk to a vampire who "ate up her [mother's] life" (250). Whatever Beloved demands Sethe gives, yet the more she gives the more Beloved demands. One thing Beloved demands again and again is explanation and apology for her death and, more importantly, for Sethe's desertion. Sethe's need to confess grows as monstrously insatiable as Beloved's need to hear confession. In fact, when Beloved is finally quiet and dreamy, Sethe "gets her going again" by "whispering and muttering some justification....It was as though Sethe didn't really want forgiveness given, she wanted it refused" (252). Sethe's delusion that she doesn't "have to rememory or say a thing because [Beloved] knows it all" is ironically replaced by the equally extreme need to constantly retell, explain and apologize to Beloved for the past. Paradoxically Beloved represents not only repressed

memory—a harmful dis(re)membering—but the irrational guilt and obsession with the past that erupts from the festering of memory repressed. Sethe, who used to begin each day by beating back the past, has now “submerged herself in history” (Kubitschek 168).

Observing these changes, Denver realizes that it is she who must “step off the edge of the world and die because if she didn’t they all would” (239). Denver’s passage from the microcosm of desire at 124 into the larger world is not easy, but memory comes to her aid. She first remembers Baby Suggs’s advice about whites—“there ain’t no defense.” Baby’s much repeated words, “lay down your sword and shield,” come back to Denver and nearly block her escape from 124. Remembering those words, however, she hears others,

“You mean I never told you nothing about Carolina?
About your daddy? You don’t remember nothing about
how come I walk the way I do and about your mother’s
feet, not to speak of her back? I never told you all that?
Is that why you can’t walk down the steps? My Jesus my”
(244). “There ain’t no defense,” Baby Suggs repeats, and
adds, “know it and go on out the yard.”³

Denver’s understanding of Baby Suggs’s advice to lay down sword and shield opposes Sethe’s understanding and is much more accurate. Excited by “the giddiness of things she no longer had to remember” (183), Sethe believes she is doing “like Baby said: Think on it then lay it down—for good” (182). In contrast, Denver realizes that one must first remember the past, then lay it down, but never lose it; history must be made “available, useful to the present, but not dominant” (Kubitschek 173). Like Paul D and Baby Suggs before she took to her bed, Denver begins to understand that memory, though painful, affirms and confirms who one is, that remembering makes us whole. Her own identity is based on others’ memories: Sethe’s stories of her marvelous birth and Baby Suggs’ memories of her father, Halle. Although Denver never knew her father, Baby Suggs “told [her] his things” (207). Consequently, she thinks of him as an “Angel Man” and loves him through these shared memories. When laid down, but not lost or beaten into ploughshares, memory remains the sword and shield that can be taken up, if not defensively against the white community, at least as a common gesture of solidarity among the black community. Wielding the sword and shield of memory is not an empty gesture. On the contrary, it is a powerful cohesive, as Denver discovers, and one that

ultimately saves Sethe from the abyss of repressed memory and the vampirish guilt associated with it.

The first thing Denver recalls as she steps out of the yard is the way to Lady Jones's house. Here again remembering is (re)visionary. In contrast to her memories of an enormous, terrifying world, the world around Denver is manageable, even friendly. She is "shocked to see how small the big things were" (245). By literally going down memory lane and re-seeing the scenes of the past, she begins to realize that she can manage the fears associated with this past and, consequently, envision a future. Not only is memory (re)visionary, it creates a wholeness in Denver's life that she lacked. Lady Jones fondly remembers how bright Denver was, how eager to learn. This memory strengthens a bond between them that, though weakened by years of disremembering and isolation, always lay there. Similarly Janey fondly remembers Baby Suggs and so agrees to help Denver get a job with her own employers. As Denver makes more contacts with the community, she finds that "others remember the days when 124 was a waystation" (249). Many remember personal details associated with that time, the tonic that cured a relative, Baby Suggs' oxtail soup, an embroidered pillowcase. Through stories of the recent cultural past, Denver experiences others' personal and communal memories, and through this experience she begins to reassess and understand her own place and identity in terms of the past and the present community.⁴ Denver, then, is taken in, re-membered by the community. At the same time, through personal and communal memory, the community softens toward the other living occupant of 124. Exactly what causes the change is never spelled out and is perhaps never fully understood by the community:

"Maybe they were sorry for [Denver]. Or for Sethe.
Maybe they were sorry for the years of their disdain.
Maybe they were simply nice people who could hold
meanness toward each other for just so long..." (249).

What is clear, however, is that the change could never have occurred without memory.

The communal remembering culminates when the band of thirty women arrives to exorcise Beloved from 124. As they approach the house "the first thing they saw was not Denver sitting on the steps, but themselves" (258). Significantly they remember the party, "themselves younger, stronger, playing in Baby Suggs's yard, not feeling the envy that surfaced the next day." This communal memory creates sympathy,

as does the much darker personal memory that makes Ella “holler.” Ella, who doesn’t like the idea of “past errors taking possession of the present,” recalls her own slow infanticide of the “hairy white thing” that she refused to nurse. Her cry of wordless horror at “the thought of that pup coming back to whip her,” as she believes Beloved is whipping Sethe, initiates the exorcism (258-59).

Like members of “Black churches where people shout” that Morrison describes in “Rootedness,” Ella voices a “personal grief and a personal statement,” but she does so “within the context of the community” (Rootedness 339). While Ella performs “some rite that is extremely subjective, the other [women] are performing as a community in protecting that person.” The result is “a public and a private expression going on at the same time.” With Ella’s outcry, the rest of the women begin singing a wordless song that breaks over Sethe and “baptizes” her in its wash (261). As the women remember, they reclaim Sethe as a member of that community of mothers and children who, despite separations, deaths, and violations, have survived to help other survivors. Sethe, like Denver, is re-membered into the community of women while Beloved is once again run out of 124, this time apparently for good.

The final chapter of *Beloved* is less an episode in the story than an epilogue to it.⁵ This chapter presents an ironic commentary on remembering and forgetting and on Beloved’s effect on the community. We are told that after the community “made up their tales, shaped and decorated them: they quickly and *deliberately*” forgot Beloved as they would a bad dream (my emphasis). “Remembering seemed unwise” (274). This deliberate forgetting parallels the unhealthy dis(re)membering, the repressed memory and guilt that inevitably erupts from beneath the surface of placid forgetfulness. “Disremembered and unaccounted for” by the community, Beloved physically “erupts into her separate parts” (274). Although disremembered and dismembered, she still haunts the stream behind 124. Her footprints remain, familiar to each member of the community as his or her own footprints. Like Sethe’s “rememories,” her memory can be “bumped into;” it takes on a presence: “they can touch if they like, but they don’t because they know things will never be the same if they do” (275).

The idea of deliberate forgetting is suggested three times in the phrase, “this is not a story to pass on.” The irony of this phrase is obvious—the story has been passed on in the preceding narrative and, in keeping with the reintegrating, healing nature of memory presented in the story, it should be passed on again. Yet the pain of doing so is

great. Paradoxically, the final word, sentence, and paragraph of the story is "Beloved." Despite the insistence that she be forgotten her name is here again spoken. Thus, Beloved not only has the last word, she *is* the last word. Without fully explaining it, Rushdy suggests the contradiction inherent in the "passing on":

"Beloved is a story that stops haunting when told, and stops being when disremembered, but must be remembered to be told, and must be told to be disremembered" (317).

Clearly, Beloved's story does not stop haunting completely—it, like the ghost herself, has an ontological presence. Only through its telling, which requires remembering, can it be disremembered and cease to haunt. But this cessation is only temporary. Ironically, the community does what it ought to know not to do—it tries to lay Beloved's memory down for good. Yet the memory of her visitation, like Sethe's memory of infanticide that provoked it in the first place, should not be repressed or laid down for good, for it will inevitably resurface in some unmanageable form.

This is not a story to pass on, the community mistakenly decides. Read another way, however, the advice may be sound. This is not a story to *pass* on, to pass over, to pass by. It is not one to forget or repress. Instead of *passing* on this strange story, the listener should hear it, remember it and retell it. By resummoning and acknowledging Beloved as part of their communal history, the community might prevent this episode of history, encompassing both the act and the repressed memory of the act, from repeating itself. Furthermore, by remembering their own part in Sethe's suffering, no matter how begrudgingly, they might avoid repeating their communal role in the perpetration of similar suffering. Beloved the infant and Beloved the memory/spirit must be reclaimed by the community as part of its history. Though painful, the past must be resummoned and transformed into an affirmation and confirmation of the individual and the community in which she lives.

NOTES

¹When asked by Nellie McKay if Jadine will ever know who she is, Morrison answered, "I hope so. She has a good shot at it, a good chance" (Interview 424).

²As Terry Otten notes, "Clearly [Beloved] is a composite symbol, not just Sethe's dead child come to exact judgment, but

also the representative of the "Sixty Million and More" to whom Morrison alludes in her headnote..." (83). For a provocative interpretation of *Beloved* as "not a supernatural being of any kind but simply a young woman who had herself suffered the horrors of slavery" (17), see Elizabeth House's essay "Toni Morrison's Ghost: The Beloved Who is not Beloved" in *Studies in American Fiction*.

³The black person's response to evil, as Morrison understands it, parallels Baby Suggs' response to whites. In an interview with Claudia Tate, Morrison describes this response: "they thought evil had a natural place in the universe; they did not wish to eradicate it. They just wished to protect themselves from it, maybe even to manipulate it....They thought evil was just another aspect of life. The ways black people dealt with evil accounted in my mind for how they responded to a lot of other things" (129).

⁴As Rushdy and others point out, "In Morrison's novels, understanding self and past is always a project of community, memory always situated within the context of rememory." He defines "rememory" as something "never only personal but always interpersonal" and sees it as an "important theme in all her novels" (304).

⁵For various interpretations of the ending see Rushdy, Fields, Kubitschek and Cummings. Morrison emphasizes the importance of ambiguity and incompleteness in the endings of all her novels. In her 1988 interview with Christine Davis, she states that both *Song of Solomon* and *Tar Baby* require the reader "to figure out for him or herself" what Son and Milkman will do. This unfinished quality is characteristic of oral storytelling, Morrison says: "You don't end a story in the oral tradition—you can have the message at the end, your little moral, but the ambiguity is deliberate because it doesn't end, it's an ongoing thing and the reader or the listener is in it and you have to THINK" (149).

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**FETISHISM AND FANTASY IN BENNETT'S
THE OLD COUNTRY AND SINGLE SPIES**

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The difference between him and the other boys at such a time was that they knew it was make-believe, while to him make-believe and true were exactly the same thing.

—J. M. Barrie, *Peter Pan*

Bron: He's just a lost boy.

Hilary: This isn't Never Never Land.

—Alan Bennett, *The Old Country*

One of Freud's fundamental insights is that the human psyche develops through a process by which the individual confronts and seeks to compensate for the frustration of his or her desires. Through the whole spectrum of human activities, from the destructively neurotic to the healthy, we try to come to terms with the fact that some of our desires have not been, and perhaps never will be, satisfied. Sometimes, however, if the object of desire remains unattainable, we compensate by means of a substitute object or activity which, though never totally adequate, at least affords a certain sense of satisfaction and enables us to carry on with our lives.

This process of imaginative supplementation and compensation is a defining characteristic of Alan Bennett's plays on the Cambridge spies, *The Old Country* and *Single Spies*. Although dealing with a real life drama of espionage, betrayal, and defection, Bennett's concerns are not those of a Le Carre, whose characters show a world-weariness born of long involvement in Cold War violence and deception. Instead, Bennett gives us three protagonists whose usefulness in the shadow war of espionage has long passed, and who now live unrepentantly, though not unremorsefully, with the consequences of their political commitment. Rather than the intrigue and adventure of Cold War espionage, Bennett's plays focus on the dynamics of desire. Within the context of the British spy scandal involving Guy Burgess, Anthony Blunt, Kim Philby, and Donald Maclean, Bennett examines how human beings compensate for frustration and disappointment by endowing certain objects and activities with the power to satisfy otherwise unfulfilled desires and needs.

Whenever desire, whether sexual or otherwise, depends upon such substitutions for its fulfillment, it utilizes the practice of fetishism.

Thus, Bennett's spies, whatever else they may be, are in this strict sense fetishists because whether as defectors in exile or as moles in English aristocratic and cultural circles, they struggle to maintain a sense of self-identity through a lifelong involvement in or preoccupation with objects and activities closely associated with the ideals of English tradition and culture. Their sense of identity, in other words, does not simply evolve out of their own self-consciousness by some act of will but requires the reinforcement of certain personally significant objects. Although their personalities differ sharply, Bennett's spies harbor a desiring fantasy to retain a sense of identity that differs significantly from their publicly acknowledged roles as traitors; consequently, certain objects in their lives become the vehicles of this desire, without which the sense of personal justification that each so values would remain an impossibility.

The term "fetish" might seem problematic in this context, for it has a number of associations, some quite negative. In its association with certain religious practices, the fetish is an object which actually possesses spiritual powers. Not merely a symbol, the religious fetish embodies, at least in part, the divine being it represents, so that believers do not distinguish the cult object from the god they worship. In psychoanalysis and Marxism, the term takes on decidedly negative overtones, but in each it designates a compensatory practice which directly results from a type of trauma—individual in the one case, social in the other.

Freud defines the sexual fetish as a substitute "for the woman's [mother's] phallus which the little boy once believed in and does not wish to forgo."¹ In an attempt to allay his own castration anxieties, the fetishist relies on an object which can substitute for the lost phallus of the female. As such, the fetish "remains a token of triumph over the threat of castration and a safeguard against it" (Freud 200). For Marx, the commodity fetish provides one means by which the bourgeoisie safeguards its political and economic ascendancy. As with the power of neurosis, the power of the bourgeoisie in part depends upon its not being recognized for what it is, an exploitative and oppressive class. It must, therefore, mask the social relationships it fosters by making them seem other than they are. With the commodity fetish, products come to possess a value that is independent of their material composition or of the social relationship which made their production possible. As in the case of religion, where "the products of the human brain appear as autonomous figures endowed with a life of their own,"² the commodity takes on a life of its own by seeming naturally to

embody a value which substitutes for the value of the human labor which went into producing it. For both Marx and Freud, therefore, the fetish becomes "an object of superstition, fantasy, and obsessive behavior...the antithesis of the scientific image, epitomizing irrationality in both its crudity of representational means and its use in superstitious rituals."³

Bennett's spies, however, are not fetishists in any of these specific senses. Rather than an instance of psychological or political aberration, their fetishism entails what Leo Bersani and Ulysse Dutoit call "a fundamental adventure in human seeing," in which an object becomes the objective correlative of a desiring fantasy.⁴ Bersani and Dutoit define fantasy as "a relation of desire to an internalized absent object," which in turn makes a desiring fantasy "the inexact repetition of a remembered pleasure" (66). Because of this inexactness, they continue:

desire is always on the move: always somewhere "to the side of" the experience it presumably wants to revive, desire continuously changes one image for another and is thus intrinsically an unending process of displacements and substitutions (66).

For Bersani and Dutoit, therefore, the fetishist is always faced with an unresolvable paradox in that the fetish object denotes the continued frustration of the very desire it is meant to satisfy. The sexual fetishist, for example, does not direct his desire toward the fetish objects themselves but toward that other object, the woman's lost penis, "whose absence they both designate and deny" (67). By attempting to compensate for the woman's perceived castration, the fetishist repeatedly emphasizes the fact of that castration and thus the possibility of his own. This predicament means that "fetishism depends on an ambiguous negation of the real, a negation which mobilizes the desiring imagination" (71). By engaging in the compensatory act of fetishism, the sexual fetishist must implicitly recognize the unbridgable gap between the fetish object and that which it designates. In other words, he always finds himself in a double bind because "[w]hat he wished to replace was never there, and the replacement never resembled the missing penis. No image of desiring fantasy ever reproduces the object (or image) which it may be designed to replace" (71). The desiring fantasy never finds fulfillment because of the unavoidable inadequacy of any fetish object as a substitute.

Bersani's and Dutoit's analysis of fetishism is particularly useful because it may provide, as they themselves say, "the model for all

substitutive formations in which the first term of the equation is lost, or unlocatable" (71). To claim that Bennett's spies are fetishists, therefore, is simply to say that they desire something which they do not have and perhaps never had, and that they are trying to compensate for this lack through a process of substitution and displacement. As we shall see, they endow certain objects and concepts with a special power to fulfill individual needs, so that more than being mere symbols, these objects become for them the actual repository for certain indispensable meanings and values.

The choice of these fetishes in Bennett's plays, however, is not idiosyncratic. True, any object or concept might possibly become a fetish for an individual's desiring fantasy, but the choice of fetishes tends to occur in cultural patterns.⁵ With Hilary and Burgess in particular, we see a pattern in their choice of fetish objects which vividly illustrates the dilemma Bersani and Dutoit believe confronts all fetishists: the attempt to replace what was never there with something categorically different from what is believed lost. Such attempts structure the lives of these two characters and make possible their firm commitment to an idea of English culture despite their betrayal of England's social and political institutions. That is, having substituted the Soviet Union for Great Britain in their political loyalties, they find no corresponding desire to supplant English cultural values with Russian or even recognizably communist values. But if England is "the dustbin," as Hilary says, then why this refusal to let go of it?⁶ What England did they betray, and toward what England do they now maintain an insistent personal loyalty?

In one sense, of course, Hilary and Burgess feel a poignant nostalgia which aptly illustrates Oscar Wilde's dictum that the only thing worse than not getting what one wants is getting it. "It is a trap, this haven," says Hilary (14), indicating the limited satisfactions that ideological integrity sometimes offers. For both Hilary and Burgess, life as defectors denies them as much or even more than it offers, so that the political necessity of their decisions becomes an increasingly meager compensation for the sense of loneliness and loss both feel. "It seemed the right thing to do at the time" is the strongest defense Burgess can offer for actions of the profoundest personal and national consequences.⁷ So both, not surprisingly, turn for relief to perhaps the most pervasive of fetishisms, nostalgia, which seeks to keep the past alive by preserving its objects and concepts. They do not harbor a personal nostalgia, however. They do not wistfully long for childhood or lost youth. Instead they long for an idealized England which, in

Hilary's case, means an England of literary achievement, tea shops, and religious certainty, while for Burgess it means gentlemen's clubs, stylish dress, and the gossip and glamour of celebrities. These versions of England constitute for each a desiring fantasy for something that did not, in fact, exist in the England each felt he must betray. "You see," says Burgess, "I can say I love London. I can say I love England. But I can't say I love my country. I don't know what that means" (29). If the meaning of love for one's country remains obscure, its consequences do not. As with the sexual fetishist who attempts to resupply the woman with the phallus she never had, Hilary and Burgess live an ongoing attempt to validate their fantasies of England, an England unlocatable in history because it exists only in the objects and ideals that clutter their lives.

In *The Old Country*, Hilary's fetishism primarily finds expression in the decor of his home. Although he and his wife, Bron, live under constant surveillance in a government supplied house in the Russian countryside, Bennett nonetheless describes their home as "A very English scene" (9). English first editions clutter the stage and Elgar plays on the gramophone (with Vaughn Williams as the only musical alternative). Hilary describes the weather as "a day for Burke, not for Hobbes" (11), and facetiously suggests to Bron that he might write a letter to the *Times* on the flight patterns of seagulls (11). Moreover, he comments on how much the countryside reminds him of Scotland (13). Overall, their home reflects Hilary's passion for collecting souvenirs and bric-a-brac, an English pastime popular since the eighteenth century.⁸ Despite living in the Soviet Union, therefore, the couple resides in a deliberately fashioned island of Englishness.

In *An Englishman Abroad*, the first part of *Single Spies*, Burgess's Moscow apartment reflects a similar, if more feeble, attempt to recreate an English atmosphere. English books overflow the bookshelves; he has furniture from his London home; and he repeatedly plays his only English language record, Jack Buchanan's rendition of "Who Stole my Heart Away?" Like Hilary, his talk is also all of English life, though primarily gossip mongering about friends and acquaintances; and whereas Hilary just surrounds himself with fetishes, Burgess literally covers himself with them. His desire for a new suit of English clothes, however, has less to do with style or utility than with his attempt to recoup a sense of identity which exile and isolation have seriously undermined. So instead of recreating the English house as extensively as Hilary does, he recreates himself as the proper Englishman. Behind this wish lies the irony that there has always been something decidedly un-English about him. "My trouble is I lack what the English call

character. By which they mean the power to refrain. Appetite. The English never like that, do they?" (28). Still, despite Burgess's perceived inability to embody the so-called English character, he feels the need to affirm his connection with it by donning its trappings. As he tells Coral Browne, he "never cared tuppence for clothes before" (24) because he always had charm, but Soviet culture has proved resistant to his English charm, primarily because it depends so much on his use of the English language:

Coral: You still have charm...

Burgess: But not here. Not for them. For charm one needs words. I have no words. And, short of my clothes, no class. I am "The Englishman." (24)

Isolated from his native language, Burgess's identity deteriorates into a shadow of its former self. To counteract this process, he has his London clothiers literally build another Burgess in the image of that self. As in the refrain of the Gilbert and Sullivan song which Burgess sings, "For he might have been a Roosian...He remains an Englishman" (36), his ability to do so comes not from any innate sense of identity, but from objects which he has endowed with the power to compensate for what he otherwise cannot possess. Isolated from English contacts and the English language, both Hilary and Burgess must rely on fetish objects in order to live with the trauma of having lost some sense of personal identity when they left the country of their birth.

Their propensity to fetishize, however, does not restrict itself to objects. It also entails certain concepts and abstractions through which they try to recover the idealized England they feel they lost at the moment of their defection. Each cherishes memories of England but only of a specific type. They do not harken back to the England which they betrayed, the England of monarchy, class privilege, empire, and capitalism, but to a fantasy England which remains enclosed, comfortable, familiar, and permanent. "This is heaven...A Wendy House," says Veronica when she sees the type of English home Hilary and Bron have established for themselves in the Soviet Union (27); but it is English only in the Never Never Land sense of fantasy and imagination. Rather than being a representation of England as it was or is, the house represents England the way Hilary would have it be. As with the sexual fetishist's reaction to the supposed castration of the woman, both Hilary and Burgess try to preserve a vision of the past as it supposedly existed before the trauma of separation. This need

accounts for their hostility toward any changes that occur in England. Whether it concerns alterations in the liturgy of the Church of England, the closing of tea shops, or the elimination of libraries in Army and Navy Stores, to which he exclaims, "Is there no end to your lunacy?" (48), Hilary dislikes anything that differentiates England from his fantasy of it. "Do I want the old place to change? I don't think so. I have left it. It must stay the same or there is no point in having come away" (30).

Burgess shares these attitudes. With his fantasy of England locked in the London social scene of the 1940's, he vainly questions Coral about radio programs, poets, actors, and other personalities whom she does not know. When reminded that London has changed since he left, he angrily asks, "Why? I don't want it to change. Why does anybody want to change? They've no business changing it. The fools. You should stop them from changing it. Band together" (29). Such reactions by Hilary and Burgess undoubtedly combine sentimental nostalgia with rank hypocrisy, especially because their outrage entails the wish to preserve a status quo they have already betrayed. In terms of fetishism, however, these attitudes and concerns have an importance equal to that of fetish objects. They offer each man a means of regaining what he in fact never possessed, but, again, only in such a way that affirms their inability to actually compensate for such a loss. As such, these fantasies of England constitute genuine fetishes.

I have not yet mentioned Blunt because his relationship to the fetish object differs in many ways from that of Hilary and Burgess. As a spy who remained successfully undercover for decades, he never had to experience the trauma of defection and the debilitating effects of being separated from his language and culture. If he avoided these difficulties, however, he lived under another which never troubled Hilary or Burgess. By defecting, they at least relieved themselves of the burden of lying and deception. They could from that time onwards live openly, even if ignominiously, as traitors to their country. Blunt never, until the end of his life, found relief from this burden, and in Bennett's play, he acutely feels the weight of it. Blunt's dilemma differs from that of the other two because he does not feel the need to regain what he has forfeited. Instead, he must protect what he has always had, the respect of the highest cultural and aristocratic circles in England.

In *A Question of Attribution*, the second part of *Single Spies*, Bennett deals with the theme of fetishism on a level of still greater complexity. For Hilary and Burgess, the use of fetishes is a fairly straight-forward affair in that they experience a lack and use objects, however inadequately, to compensate for it. Blunt, however, uses

fetishes to forestall any such experience. He wants to avoid not only exile and isolation, but also the inevitable disparagement and condemnation, and his tool for doing so is art.

The fetishizing of the art object appears to some degree in each of Bennett's plays on the Cambridge spies. As fetishes, Hilary's first editions, Burgess's music, and Blunt's art works ensure that questions of national loyalty and political commitment occur within the context of aesthetic value. As subject matter for a play, the story of the Cambridge spies presents many dramatic possibilities, yet these are not history plays in any ordinary sense. Instead of historical facts, Bennett focuses on a process of imaginative compensation that emphasizes interpretation over representation. Privileging interpretation is the strategy of Blunt's life as he attempts to influence how others interpret his political decisions. Rather than have the facts of his life indicate he is a traitor, a fraud, and a liar, he wants them to indicate something much different, much more ambiguous.

This emphasis upon interpretation gives art its thematic importance in these plays; for if fetishism is a type of fantasizing, it is also a type of interpretation. Not only is fetishism a way of making use of an object, it is a way of ascribing value and meaning to it as well. The presence of aesthetic issues in these plays means that a particular type of interpretation is taking place. Interpretation, of course, has an indispensable place in many disciplines, but one does not interpret a work of art in precisely the same way as a scientific or historical fact. Aesthetic interpretation thrives on ambiguity, but science and history try to dispel it as much as possible. This difference explains why art rather than science or history preoccupies Bennett's spies. Whatever regrets they may have about past actions or present circumstances, none of them willingly accepts condemnation for what they have done. This refusal involves a process of self-validation that is vital to each of them. They refuse to let the label of traitor trivialize their lives by simplifying the meaning of their existence.

In the case of Hilary, the vagaries of interpretation are what will facilitate his transition back into English society. Although his participation in a spy exchange is not completely voluntary, his return to England will mean only a brief stay in prison and then complete social rehabilitation. Because both the British and Soviet governments need his cooperation to make the exchange, the facts of who he is and what he has done lose all moral importance. "That is what you have to do to be cast out," says Hilary. "Murder children. Nothing else quite does the trick, because any other crime will always find you friends" (53). When faced with the demands of political expediency, the

interpretive ambiguity of aesthetics finds its place in history and morality as well. When Bron reminds them that people, even friends, died because of Hilary's actions, Duff responds with the rationalization that

To talk of guilt in a world where the purchase of an orange...is fraught with implications...is to talk of the air we breathe...So let there be no talk of guilt at this juncture. As soon talk of cause and effect. (59)

The reference to cause and effect is significant because it reminds us of how the exactitude of science and history differs from the interpretive demands of art. For the spy exchange to have any legitimacy, Hilary must appear morally redeemable, and that can only occur if one does not insist on sharply remembering his past deeds. As Hilary himself says, in response to the suggestion that he take up writing upon his return to England, "Art. The ineffable. The role of redeemer. Become an order out of chaos merchant" (44). But, of course, any sense of order is no longer dependent upon the indisputable existence of facts but upon the mode of interpretation within which one places them. Hilary reminds us that just as the communists of the 1930's could become the Christians of the 1940's, almost anything can move, however vaguely, "toward its antithesis" (61). This interpretive move will save Hilary from the merciless precision of factual analysis. Like a work of art, he will become so shrouded in ambiguities that it will be equally impossible to insist on any definitive explanation of who he is.

In other words, Hilary will be able to accomplish the very thing to which Blunt aspires in *A Question of Attribution*. In the two one-act plays of *Single Spies*, Bennett has in effect divided Hilary's character so that with Burgess we see that side of Hilary that longs for England, and with Blunt the side that relishes ambiguities as a means of self-defense and self-justification. Thus, the fetishism of art to which Bennett alludes in *The Old Country* and *An Englishman Abroad* assumes a central role in *A Question of Attribution*. Almost every character in this third play analyzes art in some way, but Blunt does it differently than the rest. For the Queen, Colin, Chubb, and Phillips, art is primarily the domain of facts, so that understanding and appreciating art consists of knowing such things as names, dates, schools of art, the construction of frames, Titian's age, established interpretations of allegories, or Rembrandt's attitude toward dogs. Blunt does not dispute the importance of such issues in the study of art, but his approach emphasizes that the essence of an art work resides in the ineffability of

one's personal response to it. Even though he tends to be cold in his personal relations, Blunt can feel, he says, "ravished, sometimes" (42) by a work of art.

The importance of the fetish in this play emerges in the distinction between these two approaches to art. Whereas the other characters want to understand art in terms of fixed meanings and indisputable facts, Blunt wants to emphasize ambiguity and paradox so that the meaning remains indeterminant. Bennett's play focuses, therefore, on a conflict between aesthetic interpretations rather than political ideologies, and this conflict evolves from the role of the historical fact in art criticism. By insisting on the primacy of fact in interpreting art, the other characters in effect make the fact into a fetish because they endow it with the power to ascribe and define identity in a way that overrides all other considerations. Just as the religious, sexual, and commodity fetishes empower certain objects in order to attain certain ends, so, too, do these characters empower the fact as a means of categorization that leaves no aesthetic questions unanswered. Blunt, however, resists this mode of interpretation, but he does so not only because of aesthetic principles. Instead, his motivations concern the assignment of guilt, or perhaps the avoidance of guilt, because, for Blunt, the role of the fact in art criticism bears directly on the question of whether or not he can find some way to exonerate himself for betraying his country and his class.

But how does the principle of factuality attain the status of a fetish? A fact, by definition, is an entity with power because it marks the demarcation between truth and falsehood. Non-factuality is the criterion by which we designate something as not true or not real. Of course, the factuality of certain data may be questioned or even denied, but only because they have been superseded by other facts. Within the empirical tradition, the fact has an epistemological status without equal because it is always the goal of investigation. The establishment of factuality marks a point of culmination in the search for knowledge. The fact might also be the beginning of this search, but only if it indicates the existence of other facts. We can say, therefore, that the fact contains within itself a teleology because it is the goal of the search for knowledge and the end of a certain type of interpretation. The relationship of one fact to others may still need interpreting, but not the fact itself. Once truth or reality has been established, interpretation ceases because anything requiring interpretation has an epistemological status still open to doubt, in that it may or may not be factual. Theories, hypotheses, opinions, and interpretations all make use of facts but do not have the certainty of one.

The historical fact is especially problematic because in addition to being an instance of truth, it is also a form of representation. In history, the factuality of something does not exactly correspond with its material existence because the historical fact itself is almost always absent. Even more than the scientific fact, the historical fact exists primarily in language or images (records, documents, recollections, photographs) rather than in any sort of immediate presence, which in turn makes it more dependent upon the need for interpretation. But another reason for this dependence is history's aspiration to do more than simply tell the who, when, where, and how of past events; it also seeks to tell why, and it does so by writing narratives of these events which will ascribe meaning and relative degrees of importance to them. As R. G. Collingwood notes, we cannot really understand past events until we make the imaginative attempt to think the thoughts of those who experienced them.⁹ Only then will we come to some understanding as to why they happened.

Blunt's resistance to the fact as the foundation of art criticism, therefore, implicitly shows that he understands the usefulness of Collingwood's mode of historical interpretation. The facts of his life are open and undeniable. He is a traitor and a spy who has betrayed and deceived his friends, family, and nation. He admits his guilt and willingly cooperates in the investigation into his activities. It is important for him, however, that others do not understand him solely in these terms because facts, as far as he is concerned, do not adequately define or explain him, just as they do not adequately explain a work of art.

Anthony Blunt himself wrote of the three problems which confront the art critic. The first is to define the influences which formed the artist, the second to define the artist's achievement in technical terms, and the third to convey the critic's personal reactions to the art work. "The great painters," he continues,

lend themselves to all these kinds of analysis...But there remain certain minor men whose importance consists only in their being a link in the chain between greater men, and of them little can be said in any but the purely historical field. On the other hand, there are painters who are freaks; they may by some chance catch one's fancy, but there is no great historical analysis to be applied to them.¹⁰

The utility of these distinctions can be extended to the character of Blunt in Bennett's play. Chubb's ongoing interrogation of Blunt really amounts to a historical analysis of him in order to determine the extent of his espionage activities and, if possible, to uncover other Soviet agents, especially the notorious fifth man who supposedly ran the whole spy network. "There is someone else," says Chubb. "Someone behind you all. All the evidence points to it" (75). Yet the evidence (the facts) is exactly what Blunt attempts to undermine by showing that he has no useful knowledge of such activities. Chubb learns nothing from him but trivia or information so old as to be useless. The caginess of Bennett's Blunt is his attempt to cast himself in the role of what Anthony Blunt called the painters "who are freaks," that is, who cannot be analyzed, at least not by these criteria.

In his study of Picasso's *Guernica*, Anthony Blunt writes that if in analyzing a painting one establishes

a parallel between a style of a modern artist and one practised in the past, it may help to define the new style, because we can often see the earlier style in a firmer perspective and may be able to analyse its origin and significance, since it is harder to view the more recent works objectively.¹¹

What constitutes objectivity forms the crux of Bennett's plays on the Cambridge spies. In *A Question of Attribution*, the issue of objectivity centers on how one reconciles the glaring contradictions of Blunt's life. What is the connection between the Blunt associated with art, high culture, social privilege, and aristocracy, and the Blunt who acts as an agent for the proletarian revolution? What the character of Blunt wants especially to avoid is the conclusion that fraudulence explains this contradiction and that his whole life can be summarized by terms such as "liar" or "traitor." That he has lied and has been a traitor are facts of his life which he does not deny, but he wants to put a different interpretation on them by draining them, as much as possible, of their negative connotations. Rather than submit to a straightforward positivism that would condemn him by virtue of identifying him in this way, Blunt wants to shroud himself in ambiguities so that alternative explanations become possible. Instead of being a fake, he wants to be, as he intimates to the Queen, "an enigma" (70).

For Blunt, insisting on the priority of facts leads to a misinterpretation of his life just as it does to works of art. To avoid such misinterpretation, there must be a balance between the certainty of

historical events and the less accessible, and therefore less certain, psychological realities that lead to their occurrence. In effect, Blunt is asking that we understand the present by means of the past; but instead of past actions, he wants us to understand him by means of his past thoughts and motivations. He wants to be judged by a more enigmatic set of criteria so that he can, if not obtain pardon, at least escape condemnation.

This motivation constitutes the hidden agenda in his lecture on the theme of martyrdom in Renaissance art. Significantly, these paintings represent for him a world of “incongruous punishments” (42), where the saints “submit to their fate readily and without fuss” in a manner that makes one feel “that it is all very British” (43). “It is a world,” he continues, “in which time means nothing, the present overlaps the future, and did the saint but turn his head he would see his own martyrdom through the window” (43). Blunt’s interest in these paintings is psychologically significant because, like himself, all martyrs are traitors because they owe their allegiance to a higher, heavenly authority, and in order to maintain it, they must break faith with the state, even though that means suffering the ultimate punishment. Such is the way that Blunt interprets his life. In the 1930’s, he felt he owed his allegiance to a cause greater than the British Crown and Parliament—the crusade against fascism. Outraged by his government’s willingness to let Spain fall victim to fascist aggression, he gave his allegiance to the only country which was actively aiding the Spanish Loyalists, the Soviet Union, and he continued to do so throughout the Second World War. Knowing full well the possible consequences of his actions, he nonetheless dedicated himself to the cause of the proletarian revolution in its fight against oppression and exploitation. In other words, rather than a Judas, he is a St. Lawrence, a martyr rather than a traitor, who has sacrificed himself for the sake of his principles.

Blunt’s lecture makes clear that he is trying to ameliorate the facts of his life by turning them into a metaphor. Why? Because, as always, facts are uncompromising. They are what they are, and these facts make him into nothing more than a traitor, a liar, and a fraud. That is, they do so unless he can show their insufficiency, unless he can defetishize them by showing how they do not have the power we assume they do, that they cannot give us the knowledge we demand of them. If the work of art is a fetish for Blunt insofar as it has the power, as he says, to ravish us, at the same time he wants to free it from a form of fetishism that would limit how we interpret it. In other words, *A Question of Attribution* gives us a conflict between fetishes.

To give interpretive priority to such issues as social history, biography, and material composition demystifies art by locating its meaning, and therefore its power to affect us, in areas outside of the object itself. Chubb, the Queen, Colin, and others all defetishize art by subordinating its meaning to verifiable facts. To do so, however, they must fetishize facts and empower them in a way that Blunt feels is illegitimate. He wants to save art from the tyranny of facts because he wants to preserve its enigmatic but nonetheless real power over those who view it. For the art work to retain its power as a fetish, the historical fetish has first to lose its own.

Unlike the other characters, however, Blunt's stake in this struggle between fetishes is personal, because if he can change the way they interpret art, he can change the way they interpret his life and actions. He wants both art and himself to be what the fact cannot contain and dominate. "But art has no goal," he tells Chubb. "It evolves, but it does not necessarily progress...Different periods have different styles, different ways of seeing the world" (49). Indeed they do, but for Blunt this difference applies to politics as well as art and must be taken into consideration before any interpretation can be made. That is why he tells Chubb, "There isn't any 'hang of it.' There isn't a kit" (55), when it comes to interpreting art. Predetermined meanings and prescribed methodologies miss the point entirely. "You're just carrying over the techniques of facile identification favored in your profession, into mine...where it isn't quite like that. Appearances deceive. Art is seldom quite what it seems" (55). Neither, he hopes, is he, at least as far as his interpreters are concerned.

What he hopes for, instead, is the enigmatic moral of the artistic forgery, a work that can make no claims to authenticity but which may still retain a certain historical and even aesthetic significance. As long as he is an enigma, he requires further interpretation. The final verdict cannot be brought in because the facts of his case will not explain him enough to establish his culpability in any absolute sense. Or so he hopes. Chubb, however, accurately foresees the future and warns Blunt that he will be scrutinized and analyzed with the same attention to detail that art works undergo. Even more insistently than Chubb is doing now, the world will demand answers from him, facts about himself, his associates, and the mysterious fifth man of the spy network. Blunt recognizes this inevitability and wistfully recalls how art became a haven for him while in the security service. "Only it's not so safe now. Everybody's into art" (76). He is still trying to find a refuge in art by claiming the same interpretive status which he himself grants to art works; but as he says, everybody's into art, and their methods of

interpretation will not accomodate him. Like Titian's *Triple Portrait*, Blunt wants to remain "A whole gallery of possibilities" (76), an occasion of ongoing and perhaps never-ending interpretation rather than a simple and straightforward meaning that condemns as it explains.

Blunt may in fact be an enigma, and Bennett, at least, seems to think so. Unlike the brutal cynicism of political expediency which motivates the government that condemns them, Bennett sees the Cambridge spies as acting upon their "illusions" (13), their political idealism and integrity, however misplaced it may have been. The illusions of the 1930's, however, gave way to the fetishes of the 1960's because political commitment seldom accomodates personal happiness, a goal these men seek as ardently as anyone else. If, as Bennett says, more people are not traitors because there is no longer anyone satisfactory enough to betray one's country to, it only indicates the pervasiveness of that lack which Hilary, Burgess, and Blunt felt, and the strength of the drive for compensation through fetishism.

NOTES

¹Sigmund Freud, "Fetishism," *Collected Papers* (London: Hogarth Press, 1950), 5: 199.

²Karl Marx, *Capital* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 1: 165.

³W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1986), p. 162.

⁴Leo Bersani and Ulysse Dutoit, *The Forms of Violence: Narrative in Assyrian Art and Modern Culture* (New York: Schocken Books, 1985), p. 72.

⁵See Ray B. Browne, *Objects of Special Devotion: Fetishism in Popular Culture* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green Popular Press, n.d.).

⁶Alan Bennett, *The Old Country* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), p. 60.

⁷Alan Bennett, *Single Spies and Talking Heads* (New York: Summit Books, 1990), p. 30.

⁸See James H. Bunn, "The Aesthetics of British Mercantilism," *NLH* 11 (1980), 303-321.

⁹R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1956), p. 218.

¹⁰Anthony Blunt, "Jongkind and Rodin," *The Spectator* 26 March 1937, p. 581.

¹¹Anthony Blunt, *Picasso's Guernica* (London: Oxford UP, 1969), p. 14.

**THE BODY ECLECTIC:
SOURCES OF RAY BRADBURY'S
MARTIAN CHRONICLES**

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There is an intriguing five-year gap between the time that Ray Bradbury first envisioned a book about people on Mars, and the time that he rediscovered that intent and produced his remarkable first novel, *The Martian Chronicles*. Bradbury's new introduction to the Fortieth Anniversary Edition recalls the crucial moment of rediscovery, a New York luncheon in June 1949 with Don Congdon, Bradbury's literary agent, and Doubleday editor Walter I. Bradbury (no relation). At the urging of California writer Norman Corwin, the twenty-nine-year-old author had traveled to New York from Los Angeles with fifty new stories and enough money to stay at the YMCA for a week. It was an exciting time for Bradbury—O. Henry Prizes in 1947 and again in 1948 were leading to recognition beyond the secondary market of the pulp magazines. He had already published a horror story collection with August Derleth's specialized Arkham House imprint; now, Bradbury and Congdon used the New York trip to showcase his stories for the major publishing houses.

But Bradbury found that story collections by bright new writers weren't selling; Walter Bradbury was the last in a long line of editors that week who asked "Is there a novel in you somewhere?" Like so many times before, Bradbury found himself explaining that he had always been a short story writer, and probably always would be. The other editors had shown no interest, but this time the response was different:

Walter Bradbury shook his head, finished his dessert, mused, and then said:

"I think you've already written a novel."

"What?" I said, "and *when*?"

"What about all those Martian stories you've published in the past four years? Brad replied. "Isn't there a common thread buried there? Couldn't you sew them together, make some sort of tapestry, half-cousin to a novel?"

"My God!" I said.

"Yes?"

"My God," I said. "Back in 1944, I was so impressed by Sherwood Anderson's *Winesburg, Ohio*,

that I told myself I must try to write something half as good, and set it on Mars. I sketched out an outline of characters and events on the Red Planet, but soon lost it in my files!"

"Looks as if we've found it," said Brad.¹

Although the outline was long forgotten, Anderson's masterpiece may have served as a subconscious pattern for the Martian stories which followed; indeed, in his extensive interviews with Professor David Mogen in 1980, Bradbury observed that despite the five-year hiatus, the developing concept of *The Martian Chronicles* "was all due to *Winesburg, Ohio*."²

But to assume that in 1949 Bradbury simply plugged his Martian tales into the Winesburg formula is misleading. During the summer of that year, he heavily revised a select group of his Martian stories, added new stories, and wrote eleven bridging chapters for the new book. Even then, Bradbury sensed that the chronicles were something entirely different from the original plan:

By the time our first daughter was born in the autumn of 1949, I had fitted and fused all of my lost but now found Martian objects. It turned out to be not a book of eccentric characters as in *Winesburg, Ohio*, but a series of strange ideas, notions, fancies, and dreams that I had begun to sleep on and waken to when I was twelve. (MC40, ix)

The textual history of *The Martian Chronicles* remains the great untapped source of information about Bradbury's creative process in writing his first novel. Viewed as a process, the transformation of these tales helps to define the structural and thematic unities of the book, and to determine just what kind of book it is.

* * * * *

The earliest of Bradbury's fancies and dreams about Mars dates to his juvenile reading. By 1932, he had discovered and consumed the romantic Martian tales of Edgar Rice Burroughs; that year, at the age of twelve, he wrote a short story titled *John Carter of Mars* on his toy typewriter.³ But he envisioned a different Mars when, in 1940, he wrote his first serious Martian story, "The Piper." It appeared (under the pen name of Ron Reynolds) in the fourth and final issue of *Futura Fantasia*, the amateur "fanzine" which he had created and edited since his

graduation from Los Angeles High School in 1938. The story is lyrical and dream-like, a cautionary tale which describes the exploitation of Mars by Earthmen of the future. Though short (barely 1200 words), "The Piper" anticipates a central theme of *The Martian Chronicles* and is clearly a forerunner of Bradbury's unique stylistic approach to the genre, but the story was too unconventional to earn a professional sale. With Julius Schwartz, an agent well-known to science fiction editors, Bradbury re-wrote "The Piper" to the fast-action formula required by most of the science fiction pulps, and placed it in the February 1943 issue of *Thrilling Wonder Stories* for the then-significant sum of \$60.00.⁴

But three more years would pass before Bradbury published another Martian story. His experience marketing "The Piper" revealed that his evolving style was not what the science fiction magazines were looking for. He continued to place occasional fast-action stories in the science fiction pulps, but the encouragement of mystery/detective fiction editor Ryerson Johnson led Bradbury to write for detective magazines during the remaining war years. From 1943 through 1945 he placed 43 professional stories, but only one out of every four was a science fiction tale, and most of these were formula pieces.

There were, however, discoveries during these years which would lead to *The Martian Chronicles*. In 1943 Bradbury wrote a fine space story, "King of the Gray Spaces," and placed it in the year-end issue of *Famous Fantastic Mysteries*. With this story, Bradbury first realized the themes of the space frontier which would inform much of his best science fiction. This stylistic maturity and thematic sophistication began to appear in his horror and fantasy work as well. With "The Wind" (1943), "The Lake" (1944), and "The Jar" (1944), Bradbury hit his stride as a master of the thriller.

Sometime in 1944, fellow writer and longtime friend Henry Kuttner told Bradbury about *Winesburg, Ohio*, and this discovery led to an outline titled "Earthport, Mars." The outline, which still exists, lists Winesburg-like title characters for twenty-one stories about Martian settlers from Earth.⁵ At this point in his writing, the connection was a natural one—the lonely, half-mad piper of his first Martian story was a grotesque figure of dreamlike proportions, rallying the displaced of Mars to rise up and drive out the Earth men. Such characters would appear in later Martian tales, but more and more the emphasis would center on the theme of exploration, of sacrifice, achievement, and the dangers inherent in the desire to make over new lands in familiar images. These themes would subsume the isolated

grotesques and center most of the subsequent Martian stories on explorers, settlers, exploiters, and idealists.

The full canon of Martian tales produced during the late 1940's is not too difficult to define. Between 1946 and the publication of *The Martian Chronicles* in May 1950, Bradbury published twenty-two Martian tales in various magazines. Most of these were sold to the pulps, but Don Congdon (who became Bradbury's agent in 1947) managed to place reprints in major market slick-paper magazines and fiction anthologies. Three new stories appeared in the first edition of *The Martian Chronicles*, and two more were added to some later editions. Seven more Martian stories were published between 1950 and 1982, but all were written with the others in the late forties. Add to these thirty-four at least four extant story typescripts and three story fragments for Martian tales which never reached print. All of these materials were on hand in some form when Bradbury made his June 1949 trip to New York (Appendices A-C).

THE A-CHRONOLOGY

On the evening after his luncheon with Walter Bradbury, he returned to his room at the YMCA and spent most of the night going over the raw materials in his mind:

It was a typical hot June night in New York. Air conditioning was still a luxury of some future year. I typed until 3 A.M., perspiring in my underwear as I weighed and balanced my Martians in their strange cities in the last hours before the arrivals and departures of my astronauts. (MC40, ix)

In the morning he gave Walter Bradbury the outline and received in return a contract and a \$750 advance. This outline—perhaps the original, but more likely a subsequent draft—still exists, providing invaluable clues about the long night's work. It bears no title other than "chapters," but for purposes of analysis it can be called the "A-Chronology" in order to identify its priority over later documents. The A-Chronology identifies seventeen numbered chapters with titles that are traceable to actual stories in all cases, with possibly one exception. Five of the chapters are identified as "unfinished." The completion status of the various titles, their order in the A-Chronology, and the content of the sixteen identifiable stories come together to reveal just how Bradbury first envisioned the completed project.

As his comments indicate, he spent much time that night on the opening third of the book, which relates to Mars at the moment of first contact between Earth men and the ancient, wiser, but extremely xenophobic Martians of Bradbury's imagination. He selected encounters of four kinds, three of which were already in print: "...And the Moon Be Still as Bright," a novelette from the June 1948 issue of *Thrilling Wonder Stories*; "The Earth Men," a shorter work from the August 1948 issue; and the chilling "Mars Is Heaven!" from the Fall 1948 issue of *Planet Stories*. In their original forms these three encounters represented completely unrelated tales of first contact; the only common thread was the Martian culture itself, which was already forming in Bradbury's mind as an identity so alien that most Earthmen would not be able to understand it—or even to perceive its deadly instinct for self-preservation. In both "The Earth Men" and "Mars Is Heaven!," Earth's astronauts are destroyed by their own inability to sort out illusion from reality. The Martians of "...And the Moon Be Still as Bright" are long dead, but the tension between those Earthmen who would preserve the planet's past and those who would grind it underfoot nearly destroys this expedition as well.

Preceding these titles, Bradbury typed the name "Ylla" from yet a fourth encounter with the Martian culture, an as-yet unpublished tale which subsequently appeared in the 1 January 1950 issue of *Maclean's* (Canada) as "I'll Not Look for Wine." Ylla is the central character of this story, a Martian woman, estranged from her husband, and who receives the thoughts of Nathaniel York of Earth's first Martian expedition, still several day's journey out in space. She is terrified, then drawn to the alien consciousness until her husband, sensing the telepathic relationship, seeks out the landing site and kills York and his crew-mate. The story is one of the best Martian tales, written late enough in the sequence that Bradbury had fully developed his vision of a bronze-skin, golden-eyed race with exotic art forms and jaded temperament. By placing this story first, Bradbury had decided to open the book with a long and fascinating look at an ancient civilization on the verge of extinction, a culture clearly unable to assimilate what Earthmen would bring.

The first third of the A-Chronology included two more titles. "Rocket Summer" (identified in A as unfinished) would become the first of the eleven bridge passages, opening the novel with an emotionally charged prelude to the new voyages of discovery. The failed voyages of "Ylla," "The Earthmen," and "Mars Is Heaven" appear in that order, followed by "The Death Disease," a bridge which Bradbury wrote as an explanation for the death of the Martians prior to the action of "...And

the Moon Be Still as Bright.” As Ylla’s husband succumbs to “The Death Disease,” he realizes that it was carried to Mars by the very Earthmen he had killed. In outline, these first four stories and two bridges chronicle the demise of the Martian culture, leaving Earth’s explorers with a precarious claim to the legacy of the Red Planet.

The A-Chronology also indicates that Bradbury had a good idea of the final portion of the book very early on. For the climax of the chronicles, he selected three of his previously published tales which, though independent, share the situational irony of a colonial society whose cultural lifeline is severed by the ravages of atomic war back on Earth. These stories appear in the outline under their original titles: “The Off-Season,” (*Thrilling Wonder Stories*, December 1948), “The Long Years,” (*Maclean’s* (Canada), 15 September 1948), and “The Million Year Picnic,” (*Planet Stories*, Summer 1946). Between “The Off Season” and “The Long Years,” Bradbury placed a new story titled “There Will Come Soft Rains.” This unpublished story eventually appeared in the 6 May 1950 issue of *Collier’s*, just prior to publication of *The Martian Chronicles*. One of the most anthologized of Bradbury’s stories, “There Will Come Soft Rains” describes the last day in an automated house of the future which has miraculously survived total atomic war only to die, part by robotic part, in the flames of a freak natural accident.

“There Will Come Soft Rains” is not about Mars at all, but it brings the parallel chronology of the mother planet into focus at the moment when war of unimaginable proportions drastically alters the future of the Martian colonies. It follows “The Off-Season,” the story of Sam Parkhill’s bittersweet realization of the American dream on the eve of Earth’s war. He opens the first hot-dog stand on Mars at a lonely crossroads, envisioning a booming business from future waves of migrant laborers; but before his gaudy neon lights can attract a single customer, representatives of the ancient Martian culture emerge from hiding to offer Parkhill a “gift.” Fearing the loss of his stake in the new world, he kills most of his visitors before realizing that the gift is a deed to vast tracts of the planet. Parkhill cannot comprehend why the Martians have offered him the opportunity to become a “true” Martian until he sees the explosions of Earth’s war in the night sky. He is left in shock, while his wife sarcastically describes the tragedy in business terms—they are in for a very, very long “off-season.”

“There Will Come Soft Rains” brings home the mindless destruction of those distant explosions with visceral impact, and sets up a timeline for the two alternate future views of Mars which conclude the collection as first planned. “The Long Years” tells the story of Doc

Hathaway, the physician and archeologist who is marooned on Mars when Earth recalls all colonists during an atomic war back home. A rescue ship from a rebuilt Earth finds an aging Hathaway twenty years later, but the crew is mystified that his wife and three children have not aged at all. Hathaway suffers a fatal heart attack from the excitement of rescue, and the crew soon discovers that his "family" is really a marvelous robot family built as exact replicas for the wife and children he had lost years before to plague. The rescuers bury Hathaway, but cannot bring themselves to terminate the lifelike robot family; they are left to continue their ritualized family routine, an endless illusion of life on a dead planet. "The Million-Year Picnic" offers a positive alternative to the death and sterility of "The Lonely Years." This final tale chronicles a post-holocaust family which comes to Mars not as conquerors, but as refugees. These new "Martians" establish a "Million-Year" future on their new planet by adopting it rather than exploiting it. "The Million-Year Picnic" was the first of his Martian tales to reach print after "The Piper," but even at this early conceptual stage there are glimpses of the same ancient but incredibly fragile Martian culture that he would develop in the later stories. Bradbury returned to this early vision of the encounter between Earth and Mars to close out the new book with a sense that mankind still has a chance to start over.

From the beginning, conceiving and organizing the middle section of the book presented the most problems. Seven titles appear in this section of the A-Chronology, six of which are readily identifiable. But only three of these stories—"The Martian," "Usher II," and "Way in the Middle of the Air"—would find their way into the first edition of *The Martian Chronicles*. The tentative nature of this section is reinforced by Bradbury's own notation that the other four stories—"The Fathers," "The Naming of Names," "Love Affair," and "The October Man"—were unfinished when the outline was prepared. In fact, none of these seven had as yet reached print, and only three—"The Naming of Names" (*Thrilling Wonder Stories* August 1949), "The Martian" (*Super Science Stories* November 1949, as "Impossible") and "Usher II" (*Thrilling Wonder Stories* April 1950, as "Carnival of Madness") would see print before book publication. A survey of all seven titles provides some clues to Bradbury's initial plan for the heart of the book.

Although unfinished at this point, "The Fathers" eventually became "The Fire Balloons," one of four stories leading off this section of the A-Chronology which involve contact with aboriginal Martian "survivors." In "The Fathers," the Jesuit Father Peregrine and a companion search for God among the Martian hills, and find a benign

lifesaving force which defies analysis and torments the searchers with hopes that God might once again walk with man. "The Naming of Names" presents a community of settlers which has named and claimed a new frontier, but soon finds itself marooned on Mars by atomic war on Earth. The planet itself becomes proactive, subconsciously implanting a racial memory of the ancient Martian language and a desire to assume the identities of the native names and homesteads. Mars slowly transforms the settlers into Martians, and a rescue ship arriving five years later finds only dark and golden-eyed Martians living far from the colonial settlement. The new crew surveys and names the major landmarks; in this way, "The Naming of Names" begins all over again.

In sharp contrast to the primeval Martian powers of these two stories, "The Martian" portrays a survivor who is tempted by loneliness to enter a human home, using his powers of illusion to appear as the lost son of an old couple living on the edge of a colonial settlement. A fatal journey into the settlement reveals that any strong human memory will trigger a shape-change; the helpless Martian dies in an agony of metamorphosis, overloaded with the identities of long-lost loved ones from the desperate dreams of the humans around him.

"The Love Affair" is the only story other than "Ylla" listed in the original chronology that is written from the Martian point of view. Like "Ylla," it is a story of a secret sharer, in this case a Martian boy, perhaps the sole survivor of his race, who braves the threat of the Death Disease to meet the isolated Earth woman that he has loved from afar. Although the reader knows that she is a prostitute on vacation from the settlements, this factor only adds more possibilities to the moment of meeting—a meeting which Bradbury leaves to the reader's imagination. The final two stories from the middle section focus entirely on Earthmen who come to Mars to escape repression. "Way in the Middle of the Air" is Bradbury's pre-1950s vision of freedom for Black Americans, who rise up not in rebellion but rather in a successful attempt to leave the old order behind in a new Exodus to Mars. In "Usher II," a future where imaginative literature is banned drives a rich eccentric to Mars to recreate Poe's House of Usher. When the authorities follow to tear down his creation and burn his books, he is ready for them, with a vengeance worthy of Poe himself.

Poe may also be "The October Man" of the A-Chronology. This title represents the only mystery in the first list of chapters; it appears nowhere else in Bradbury's manuscripts or published stories, but there are clues. In "Usher II," Bradbury's obsessed millionaire recreates on Mars the perpetual autumn environment of Poe's House of Usher, an "ancient autumn world" which is "always October." Eventually,

Bradbury came to see his own Poe-esque horror and suspense stories as fantasies set in "The October Country," and collected his best early thrillers under that now-famous title in 1955. But the most compelling clue surfaces in the next chronology, where a second Poe story does appear in the middle of the outline in place of "The October Man."

At some later date, Bradbury returned to the mid-portion of the A-Chronology and wrote in two more titles—"Grandfathers" and "Night Meeting." Neither appears in the next Chronology, although they surface again in the third. Their appearance as holograph additions to A may underscore the tentative nature of the original mid-book titles, but it is more likely an indication that Bradbury was working with both the first (A) and second (B) chronologies as he made the substantial revisions to this section which are evident in the third (C) chronology.

At least initially, it appears that Bradbury was more interested in examining the "displaced" than the "displacers" in the central section of the book. The first three stories in the middle section of A are imaginative explorations of the consequences of the social Darwinism and egocentric attitudes that the first Earthmen bring to Mars to replace the fragile Martian culture. The fourth is a love story told, like "Ylla," from the Martian point of view. "The October Man" is problematic, due to the tenuous nature of its identity. Only the final two stories turn to the pressures that drive men outward from Earth's civilization, and the frontier imperatives that lead to exploration and settlement. The progressive chronology of discovery, exploration and settlement promised by "Rocket Summer" doesn't carry through the center of the A-Chronology. For this section at least, more than revision would be required in the months ahead.

THE B-CHRONOLOGY

The A-Chronology provides an excellent baseline by which to measure the succeeding stages of large-scale restructuring. The next stage is also recorded in an extant outline, probably prepared not long after Bradbury returned home to California in late June 1949. This "B-Chronology," as we may call it, includes twenty-one entries. Two titles are dropped from the A-Chronology; six new ones are added. Significantly, the B-Chronology entries have date prefixes similar to those that Bradbury would settle on in lieu of chapter numbers for the first edition text, differing only in the span of years he would identify as inclusive to the final structure of the book. In B, these dates run chronologically (with two typographical errors) from "July 5th, 1985" to "Fall 1999."

In this phase, Bradbury retained in order the six titles which open his original concept of the chronicles. He even highlighted the chronology by annotating the stories of exploration following "Ylla" as the second, third, and fourth expeditions. In the case of "Mars Is Heaven," the subtitle "Third Expedition" would eventually become the new title. Bradbury gives this story the date April 3rd, 1986, while "The Death of the Martians" takes place the next day, indicating that in B he already envisioned a strong link between Earth's three ill-fated expeditions and the cultural extinction of his Martians by human bacteria.

Bridges between major sections of the book begin to appear in B. A bridge tentatively titled "Threat of War on Earth" provides a new transition into the final apocalyptic chronicles. Not surprisingly, this section remains largely unchanged, with one major exception. "The Silent Towns," which had recently appeared in *Charm* (March 1949), was inserted between "There Will Come Soft Rains" and "The Long Years." The addition proved very effective. Like "The Long Years," "The Silent Towns" is a story about the few lonely colonists left behind when the settlers return to friends and families on war-torn Earth. But the sense of loss and brooding isolation in "The Long Years" is effectively balanced by the grotesque characterizations and darkly humorous accommodation to an empty world that is central to "The Silent Towns." In this story, an itinerant miner named Walter Gripp returns from the hills to find that all the settlements have been abandoned in the rush home. He amuses himself by playing both vendor and consumer in a ghost town where everything is free, but even the eccentric Gripp soon discovers a craving for human company. His ultimate wish is fulfilled when the sultry voice at the other end of a phone call leads him to the only other human on the planet. His odyssey ends in the presence of Genevieve Selsor, a plump chocolate-chewing nightmare; Gripp flees in a panic, never realizing that she is no more grotesque and mannerless than he is.

B clearly shows that the opening and closing sections remained essentially unchanged; but Bradbury was still far from satisfied with the mid-portion of the book. A new bridge, tentatively titled "The Settling In," leads into the core of the book, but the rest of this section varies significantly from A. "The Love Affair" and "The October Man" drop out (as do the holograph entries for "Grandfathers" and "Night Meeting"). "The Naming of Names," "The Fathers" (retitled "The Priests"), "Way in the Middle of the Air," "The Martian," and "Usher II" remain, but appear in this new order. Three new titles appear in the

center of this grouping: "Sketch: what happened to Negroes?"; "Mr. Edgar Allan Poe Comes to Mars"; and "The Passing Years."

These changes suggest that Bradbury was still looking for an arrangement of material which would give focus and continuity to the entire work while carrying it beyond the scope of a story collection. Two of the new titles play off of material developed in the original chronology. "Sketch: what happened to Negroes?" may be a companion piece to "Way in the Middle of the Air." The earlier story ends as American Blacks head off to the rocket ports for Mars, leaving the traditional White society to sort it all out. "Sketch" appears to be either a bridge, or Bradbury's initial idea for a follow-up piece; if the former, it becomes "The Wheel" bridge of the C-Chronology; if the latter, it evolves into "The Other Foot," a story of prosperous Black settlers on Mars who, after a nuclear war on Earth, are confronted with the ironic situation of having to take in a White refugee from war-torn Earth. The story concludes with backlash hatred melting into compassion when the shoe is on "the other foot."

The book-burning behind the plot of "Usher II" shows that Bradbury was already shaping the material which would bear fruit in *Fahrenheit 451* several years later. Both Poe and book-burning re-surface in the next new story of the B-Chronology. "Mr. Edgar Allan Poe Comes to Mars" is most likely a planned revision of "The October Man" of the A-Chronology; the new title provides convincing evidence that it would become "The Mad Wizards of Mars," a story which eventually appeared in the 15 September 1949 issue of *Maclean's* of Canada. It is closer to whimsical fantasy than any other story considered for *The Martian Chronicles*. Here Bradbury envisions a writer's graveyard—the mass burning of Earth's literary treasures sends the ghosts of all the great writers to exile on Mars. On the eve of a first expedition to Mars, Poe's ghost leads the other literary masters in an attempt to telepathically terrorize the crew into turning back. They fail, and when the Captain burns the last copies of the masterworks from his ship's library, the ghosts themselves dissolve away.

"The Passing Years" may be the first interior bridge for this section of the book. The title and its date—twelve years after the preceding entry—suggests that the stories of early settlement were to be set off from those chronicling the evolving colonial identity on Mars. But such changes are still tentative in B—in spite of the date entries, there is very little bridging or true chronological depth to the material.

The B-Chronology shows a shift of emphasis in its middle titles; with the deletion of "The Love Affair," only three remaining stories in this section deal with the old Martians. Although we cannot be sure of

their content at this early outline stage, the Poe fantasy and the Negro sketch seem to add to the stories concerned with the transfer of Earth's culture to a new world. As work progressed, Bradbury would continue this trend in his stories as well as his bridging chapters.

THE C-CHRONOLOGY

The last surviving record of revision appears to be the final chronology that went forward to the publisher with the manuscript; if so, it probably dates from November or December 1949. The most striking changes involve the dating prefixes and the significant expansion of titles—now totaling 29. Bradbury moved the point of departure to the eve of the new century, and expanded the scope of *The Martian Chronicles* to cover a full quarter century of colonization. (Oddly enough, the perspective of time shows that Bradbury's dates approximate today's tentative timetable for NASA's projected manned Mars missions.)

Even in outline, the C-Chronology appears far more complete than the earlier chronologies. In preparing C, Bradbury deleted three stories from B, but retained the remaining eighteen titles—five bridges and thirteen stories—with some title revisions. Most significantly, he added eleven new titles—five stories and six bridges—and completely reshaped the sequence of stories in the middle portion of the work.

The C-Chronology adds only one story to the opening section, and none to the closing section of the outline; this evidence confirms that Bradbury's initial vision of man's exploitation of a dying culture, and the eventual "second chance" to redeem man's mistakes on Mars, were firmly rooted in the earlier chronologies. The major addition in C is "The Summer Night," which appeared in the Winter 1949 issue of *The Arkham Sampler* (as "The Spring Night"), just as Bradbury was finishing his revisions for *The Martian Chronicles*. "The Spring Night" is, in effect, a 900-word bridge between "Ylla" and "The Earth Men"; the internal evidence of the magazine text indicates that it was probably written, along with "Ylla," rather late in the series of Martian stories (probably early 1949). "The Summer Night" develops the central mystery of Ylla—her ability to pick up the thoughts of Earthmen as they approach Mars. Martians gathered for a summer evening of music under the stars are astonished when the singer and even the musicians become the media for fragments of alien music of unknown origin. The harsh, almost barbaric quality of the sound terrifies the assembly and drives the Martians home in panic, where fragments of other strange rhymes surface in children's play and even in

dreams. The musical echoes are all traditional Anglo-American songs and rhymes similar to those which Ylla reads from the mind of Nathaniel York. The story forms a natural bridge between "Ylla," where only one very sensitive and very lonely Martian receives the thoughts of Earth's first astronaut, and "The Earth Men," where a larger crew approaches Mars with stronger (and much more confusing) composite memories.

Bradbury also added "The Taxpayer," a true bridge between the second expedition of "The Earth Men" and "The Third Expedition" (a title which evolves in C from "Mars Is Heaven!"), and retained "The Disease" as a bridge between the stories of the Third and Fourth Expeditions. In this way, he provided an introductory bridge or bridging story for each of the four tales of exploration which open the chronicles.

In the final section of the C-Chronology, Bradbury developed the opening "Threat of War on Earth" into a bridge titled "The Luggage Store." The final five stories remain uninterrupted by bridges, but in C "There Will Come Soft Rains" moves down between "The Long Years" and "The Million-Year Picnic." These three closing stories are now dated 2026, more than twenty years after the war on Earth brought all but a few marooned settlers and explorers home. The revision in chronology accommodates the 20-year timespan required for Doc Hathaway's story in "The Long Years," but the revised timeline creates a new logic problem for "The Million-Year Picnic" by delaying the Thomas family's pre-holocaust departure for Mars by twenty-one years. Bradbury's solution was to reposition "There Will Come Soft Rains" late in the chronology, revealing that the destruction of Earth did not happen all at once, but rather over a period of years leading up to a final atomic cataclysm. The penultimate position of "Soft Rains" explains how families like the Thomases and their neighbors could have survived the earlier war years and managed to leave for Mars just ahead of Earth's final descent into chaos.

The middle of the C-Chronology reveals a total reworking of Bradbury's vision of the settlement of Mars. He dropped three stories entirely—"The Naming of Names," "Sketch: what happened to Negroes?", and "Mr. Edgar Allan Poe Comes to Mars." These deletions indicate that Bradbury was thinking more of the structure of the book as a whole than of individual stories—each deleted story has a basic plot element that puts it at variance with the general progression of the *Chronicles*. The Poe piece presents a new 'first expedition' story that in no way fits into the fabric of the Martian conquest described and bridged so carefully through the first four stories of the text. Both "The

Naming of Names” and “Sketch” are philosophically insightful, but they describe destinies for the Earth settlements on Mars that are at variance with the nearly complete vision of failure and redemption as narrated in the final five *Chronicle* stories. Under different titles, all three of these stories would eventually find their way into some of Bradbury’s best story collections of later years; but as the *Chronicles* moved closer and closer to completion, it became apparent that these stories would only diffuse the developing unity of the book.

The bridge into the mid-section stories (retitled “The Settlers”) continues to serve this major transitional purpose in C. “The Passing Years” bridge almost certainly becomes “The Naming of Names”—it is the only bridge in C that spans years instead of a single month or day. In this bridge Bradbury chronicles the way that, over time, the Earthmen rename and master the Martian terrain. This context, coupled with the bridge’s unique date prefix and the fact that Bradbury had removed (and would eventually retitle) the B-Chronology story of that name, argues well for the assumption that Bradbury simply moved the title from story to bridge in the C-Chronology. But other revisions in the mid-section of C are far more significant. These two bridges and the surviving four stories from B—“The Priests,” “Way [In the] Middle of the Air,” “The Martian,” and “Usher II”—are reordered and merged into a larger body of three new stories and six new bridges. The seven stories now in the book’s mid-section work with the eight bridges to tell an integrated story of initial settlement, and the waves of settlers that follow. The new stories present, in turn, an early frontier settlement along the lines of the American West (“They All Had Grandfathers”); a Johnny Appleseed figure, determined to plant a forest of trees and shrubs which bring sweet memories of Earth as well as the essential oxygen exchange which the colonists need to survive (“The Green Morning”); and a night meeting between two lone travelers, one a pioneer from Earth, the other a Martian, both trapped for a moment out of time, and both unsure whether the other represents the past or the future of Mars (“The Night Meeting”). These new settlers are followed by the priests (“The Fathers”), the Negro pioneers from the American South (“Way in the Middle of the Air”), the eccentric millionaire (Usher II), and the old people (“The Martian”) who come in successive waves in the four stories which Bradbury had carried over from both the A- and B-Chronologies. The six new mid-book bridges reinforce the wave-like dynamic of settlement, and the occupational diversity of the settlers. There would be other last minute changes before publication, but in essence the outlined text of the C-Chronology represents the final contents of *The Martian Chronicles*.

The surviving A-, B-, and C-Chronologies point to a fairly rigorous process of revision and expansion by which Bradbury turned these stories into what amounts to a first novel. But by themselves, the three chronologies cannot provide convincing evidence that the final work is anything more than a collection of imaginative stories linked by common subjects and themes. The true nature of the book only becomes apparent through an analysis of Bradbury's actual revisions, and the new materials which he produced specifically for *The Martian Chronicles*.

STORY REVISIONS

Early magazine versions exist for twelve of the eighteen C-Chronology stories.⁶ Collations of these texts against those in the first hardcover edition reveal heavy revision which, for some stories, amounts to major rewriting. Much of the revising is structural, providing internal bridges and links between stories. But at least half of the revised passages reveal significant stylistic development as well.

Structural changes often provide clues to the order in which some stories were written. The magazine texts for "Ylla" and "The Summer Night" already show a full development of the Martian culture which the earlier stories of first contact lack.⁷ Bradbury added similar descriptions as he revised the earlier tales to form subsequent Earth landings in the *Chronicles*. "The Earth Men," as transformed into a tale of the Second Expedition, provides good examples. In revision, "The Earth Men" includes descriptions of the colorful masks which symbolize the increasingly illusive nature of Bradbury's fragile Martians:

Magazine text:

The little town was full of people going in and out doors and saying hello to one another. Through windows you could see people eating food and washing dishes. (72)

First edition text:

The little town was full of people drifting in and out of doors saying hello to one another, wearing golden masks and blue masks and crimson masks for pleasant variety, masks with silver tips and bronze eyebrows, masks that smiled or masks that frowned, according to the owner's disposition. (36)

The Earth Men can find no adult interested in their presence, and try to tell their tale to a little Martian girl. In revision, Bradbury has her quickly clap “an expressionless golden mask over her face,” and listen to the story “through the slits of her emotionless mask.” Themselves masters of illusion, the natives believe that the astronauts are merely deranged Martians who can produce the image of strange weapons, spacesuits, and a ship from the stars. When the Earth Men are locked away in an asylum, they are treated by a Martian psychologist who, in the revised text, wears a mask with three faces.

Until revision, the four stories of initial contact with Mars were not interconnected—each originally stood as a distinct vision of first contact. In revision for the *Chronicles*, Bradbury left “Ylla” largely untouched as a Martian’s view of the First Expedition, and added passages to the other stories which placed them in a sequence as the Second, Third, and Fourth Expeditions. But the interweave works even deeper into the book. Bradbury also added two of his protagonists from the concluding stories of the *Chronicles* to Captain John Wilder’s crew of the successful Fourth Expedition—Sam Parkhill, the hotdog stand owner of “The Off Season,” and Doc Hathaway of “The Long Years.” In revising “The Long Years,” he provides further linkage by having Doc Hathaway rescued by Captain Wilder himself, who has been on deep space exploration missions during the twenty years of war on Earth. Here, as well as in “The Off Season,” Bradbury builds on Wilder’s conservationist image by revealing how he was sent out to the space frontier to prevent his interference with the colonial exploitation of Mars.

Other changes accommodate the advance of the chronology into the twenty-first century by altering the birthdates of crew members and the years of the expedition landings. Bradbury is also careful to develop a sense for the physical strain of low oxygen on Mars, a consideration lacking from the earlier versions of the contact stories. And in a very important long addition to “And the Moon Be Still as Bright,” Doc Hathaway tells Captain Wilder how his scouting mission across the planet uncovers the pathetic end of the Martian culture—the incredibly ancient race has been suddenly and silently exterminated by the chicken pox carried by the crews of the three earlier expeditions.

These changes are significant in tracing the evolution of independent stories into book chapters, but the stylistic changes are an even stronger indicator of the extent of Bradbury’s rewriting. Collation reveals that most stories were heavily revised—some as much as seventy percent. The majority of this revision involves stylistic

development of dialog and the descriptions, images, and suspense elements of the individual stories.

"There Will Come Soft Rains" is perhaps the most heavily revised story in the *Chronicles*. Very little is altered in terms of events—it remains the pathetic and tragic story of the death of an automated house, long after the family it serves has been destroyed in the first flash of an atomic blast. But the descriptions become richer and more powerful in revision, as we can see in the descriptions of the little robot mice that scurry about cleaning the house on its final day:

Magazine text:

Out of warrens in the wall, tiny mechanical mice darted. The rooms were acrawl with the small cleaning animals, all rubber and metal. They sucked up the hidden dust, and popped back in their burrows. (34)

First edition text:

Out of the warrens in the wall, tiny robot mice darted. The rooms were acrawl with the small cleaning animals, all rubber and metal. They thudded against chairs whirling their mustached runners, kneading the rug nap, sucking gently at hidden dust. Then, like mysterious invaders, they popped into their burrows. Their pink, electric eyes faded. The house was clean. (206)

Later in the day, The return of the family dog triggers another descriptive revision:

Magazine text:

Behind it whirled the angry robot mice, angry at having to pick up mud and maple leaves which, carried to the burrows, were dropped down cellar tubes into an incinerator which sat like an evil Baal in a dark corner. (34)

First edition text:

Behind it whirled angry mice, angry at having to pick up mud, angry at inconvenience.

For not a leaf fragment blew under the door but what the wall panels flipped open and the copper scrap rats flashed swiftly out. The offending dust, hair, or paper, seized in miniature steel jaws, was raced back to the burrows. There, down tubes which fed into the cellar, it was dropped into the sighing vent of an incinerator which sat like evil Baal in a dark corner. (207)

The full development of the mice is only one of many animal images in "There Will Come Soft Rains" that come alive through Bradbury's revising hand. He adds chemical snakes of fire retardant foam, and a fire that backs off, "as even an elephant must at the sight of a dead snake." But the most fascinating new passages center on the introduction of an electronic nursery to the story, described in striking detail before the house begins to burn:

Four-thirty.

The nursery walls glowed.

Animals took shape: yellow giraffes, blue lions, pink antelopes, lilac panthers cavorting in crystal substance. The walls were glass. They looked out upon color and fantasy. Hidden films clocked through well-oiled sprockets, and the walls lived. The nursery floor was woven to resemble a crisp, cereal meadow. Over this ran aluminum roaches and iron crickets, and in the hot still air butterflies of delicate red tissue wavered among the sharp aroma of animal spoors! There was the sound like a great matted yellow hive of bees within a dark bellows, the lazy bumble of a purring lion. And there was the patter of okapi feet and the murmur of a fresh jungle rain, like other hoofs, falling upon the summer-starched grass. Now the walls dissolved into distances of parched weed, mile on mile, and warm endless sky. The animals drew away into thorn brakes and water holes.

It was the children's hour. (208)

Later, as the fire consumes the house, the nursery responds to this final deadly stimulus:

In the nursery the jungle burned. Blue lions roared, purple giraffes bounded off. The panthers ran in circles, changing color, and ten million animals, running before the fire, vanished off toward a distant steaming river....(210)

In these nursery descriptions, Bradbury was developing the controlling image of one of his most often anthologized horror tales, "The Veldt" (originally titled "The World the Children Made," 1950). But here, they add yet another image of animal vitality to Bradbury's descriptions of the doomed house. Similar deep revisions can be found throughout "There Will Come Soft Rains." A side-by-side comparison of the final third of the story reveals just how completely Bradbury rewrote this penultimate story for *The Martian Chronicles*.

Not all of his revisions were expansive. In story after story, collation uncovers many passages of dialog which are tightened up to great effect in revision for the book. The dialog passages of "The Third Expedition" ("Mars Is Heaven!") are typical. Captain John Black and his crew find, to their amazement, that they've landed in an exact replica of an early twentieth century midwestern American town, complete with old phonograph recordings, period artwork, and villagers. In one passage, Black and two of his officers question an old lady about the town. A parallel comparison of the pre- and post-revision texts shows how Bradbury deleted forty percent of the passage by eliminating the bewildered echoing lines of the astronauts and the peevish pouting of the old lady—all changes for the better. The serene and motherly old lady of the revised passage surprises the reader—irritability and peevishness were hallmarks of Martian behavior in "Ylla" and "The Earth Men." The tightened dialog of "The Third Expedition" eliminates this telltale characteristic and allows the Martian woman to set her illusion with much more subtlety—a strategem which is only appreciated in the harrowing conclusion of the tale.

It is this illusion that carries the story, and Bradbury refines the element of suspense by adding material to Black's gradual realization of the terrifying truth. The town seems to be populated by the dead relatives of his crew members; all the men leave their weapons and rush to meet long lost loved ones. Reunited with his own brother and parents, Black is convinced that Mars is a Heaven of sorts, a place where the dead blissfully re-enact their Earthly routines. But later, as he tries to fall asleep in his childhood home, logical thought returns:

And this town, so old, from the year 1926, long before *any* of my men were born. From a year when I was six years old and there *were* records of Harry Lauder, and Maxfield Parrish paintings *still* hanging, and bead curtains, and "Beautiful Ohio," and turn-of-the-century architecture. What if the Martians took the memories of a town *exclusively* from *my* mind? They say childhood

memories are the clearest. And after they built the town from *my* mind, they populated it with the most-loved people from all the minds of the people on the rocket!

And suppose those two people in the next room, asleep, are not my mother and father at all. But two Martians, incredibly brilliant, with the ability to keep me under this dreaming hypnosis all the time? (64-65)

These memories are Bradbury's, who, like John Black, was born in 1920. Added largely in revision, this passage highlights the deadly subtlety of the Martian illusion. For John Black, this numbing realization precedes his own death by mere seconds.

In just four months, between his return from New York in late June 1949, and the birth of his daughter Susan in early November, Bradbury transformed these stories into chapters of a greater work. But the final sense of completion only came with the writing of new material—the transitional bridges.

THE BRIDGES

Most of the Martian stories were written before Bradbury's June 1949 trip to New York provided the inspiration to fuse these materials into a novel. In fact, all but five of the stories in the C-Chronology preceded the book into print in some form. But the bridges are a different story. Only "Rocket Summer" appears in the A-Chronology, with the note that it is "unfinished." Presumably all eleven bridges—representing a tenth of the total text but more than a third of the C-Chronology titles—were written specifically for the book.

"Rocket Summer," although very brief, sets the mood for the possibilities of rocket travel and the opening of a new frontier. It's still winter on Earth, but the rockets are already changing the world: "The rocket stood in the cold winter morning, making summer with every breath of its mighty exhausts. The rocket made climates, and summer lay for a brief moment upon the land..."(13). Many of the bridges end in ellipsis, leading the way to "Ylla" and beyond.

In "The Taxpayer," Bradbury first reveals the re-awakened need for frontier freedoms that the rocket brings to many. The anonymous taxpayer expresses this need as dissatisfaction with established civilization in the best tradition of American frontier literature: "To get away from wars and censorship and statism and conscription and government control of this and that, of art and science! You could have Earth! He was offering his good right hand, his heart, his head, for the

opportunity to go to Mars!" (47). There are also references to atomic war looming on the horizon, a bridge to later stories which gives a sense of urgency to the settlement of Mars.

After the story of the Fourth Expedition, Mars—for a time—will be Earth's. With "The Settlers," Bradbury begins to document the waves of settlement, continuing through all the bridges in the middle section of the book. In "The Shore," he extends the wave metaphor to echo the American experience: "Mars was a distant shore, and the men spread upon it in waves. Each wave was different, and each wave stronger" (111). Each successive bridge defines one or more waves:

The first wave carried with it men accustomed to spaces and coldness and being alone, the coyote and cattlemen,... ("The Shore," 111)

And what more natural than that, at last, the old people come to Mars, following in the trail left by the loud frontiersmen, the aromatic sophisticates, and the professional travelers and romantic lecturers in search of new grist. ("The Old Ones," 149)

But Bradbury's waves of settlers are all American waves. Again, the bridges explain:

The second men should have traveled from other countries with other accents and other ideas. But the rockets were American and the men were American and it stayed that way, while Europe and Asia and South America and Australia and the islands watched the Roman candles leave them behind. The rest of the world was buried in war or the thoughts of war. ("The Shore," 111)

And the settlers not only were American, but they built American, trying "to beat the strange world into a shape that was familiar to the eye, to bludgeon away all the strangeness" ("The Locusts," 101). They brought in Oregon pine and California redwood to work this transformation, and in time, they succeeded: "It was as if, in many ways, a great Earthquake had shaken loose the roots and cellars of an Iowa town, and then, in an instant, a whirlwind twister of Oz-like proportions had carried the entire town off to Mars to set it down without a bump" ("Interim," 113). Finally, the old Martian names and places were buried beneath the new frontier history: "Here was the place where Martians killed the first Earth Men, and it was Red Town

and had to do with blood. And here where the second expedition was destroyed, and it was named Second Try, and each of the other places where the rocket men had set down their fiery cauldrons to burn the land, the names were left like cinders,..." ("The Naming of Names," 130).

The bridges chronicle the way that the pioneering imperative populates the new land and imposes a civilized order over the natural order of the Red Planet. The final bridges reach to events back on Earth, and show how the roots of the new life are not yet deep enough to keep the settlers from returning home when the rumors of war become reality.

Bradbury's bridges complete the transformation of the Martian stories into chapters of an integrated greater work. The bridges chronicle the cosmic scope of the group endeavor to fulfill dreams in a new world; the stories chronicle individuals striving to make the dreams come true. Together, the unbroken chronology of bridge and story reveals in very human terms the wonder and deadly perils of a new frontier, full of recurring reminders that there can be no fulfillment on the frontier without sacrifice and loss.⁸

THE PUBLISHING LEGACY

As one might expect, the dynamic shaping of *The Martian Chronicles* did not end with the C-Chronology. Doubleday's May 1950 first edition contains twenty-five of the twenty-nine titles in C. The final revisions deleted the stories "They All Had Grandfathers" and "The Fathers." "The Disease," planned as a bridge explaining the extinction of the Martians, also disappears, as does "The Wheel." A late addition, a bridge titled "The Watchers," brings the final chapter count to twenty-six, including fifteen stories and eleven bridges.

"The Disease" provided situational irony, but in depicting the death of Ylla's husband by means of the bacteriological legacy of the Earthmen he had slain, Bradbury had sensationalized an otherwise subtle and effective story. The deletion of this bridge improves the impact of "Ylla" and quickens the tempo of the opening stories of first contact. In terms of plot, the deletion was compensated by revisions to the Fourth Expedition's story in the opening pages of "And the Moon Be Still as Bright." Bradbury's addition of Hathaway and his medical report on the death of the Martians eliminates the need for a bridge between the Third and Fourth Expedition stories, and effectively develops the irony of mankind's unintentional genocide.

"The Wheel" initially provided a whimsical but ineffective epilogue to "Way in the Middle of the Air." Here again, deletion of a bridge increases the tempo of the chronicles, this time without the need to add material elsewhere. The logic for a new bridge in the final section of the *Chronicles* is also clear. "The Watchers," with its repeated radio calls from Earth to COME HOME, provides the final motivation for the return exodus of the settlers.

It isn't clear whether deletion of the two stories was an authorial decision, or was prompted by editorial concern over content. The spiritual implications of "The Fathers" might have been considered controversial, but there is little (other than prostitution) to consider controversial in "They All Had Grandfathers." ("The Fathers," much the finer of the two pieces, would appear in the companion story volume, *The Illustrated Man*, a year later.) Whatever the reason, it is likely that the stories were removed at the last minute—surviving references to Father Peregrine of "The Fathers" remain in two bridges, "The Shore" and "The Luggage Store."

The subsequent publishing history of the work is no less complicated, and reveals that Bradbury and his agent, Don Congdon, were able to retain a great deal of marketing flexibility as the book quickly won public acclaim. Even after book publication, Bradbury was able to retitle and even repackaging some of the stories for reprint in American and English periodicals. In November 1950, *Esquire* reprinted "The Summer Night," combined with "The Earth Men," as "The Great Hallucination." In February 1951, the English version of *Argosy* reprinted the same conflation as "Danger Wears Three Faces." "Ylla" also appeared in the English *Argosy* under its original magazine title, "I'll Not Look for Wine." Nearly every other story has a magazine reprint history, but the longest trail belongs to "The Third Expedition." *Argosy* of England reprinted it just before book publication as "Circumstantial Evidence." Over the next few years, it appeared in *Esquire* under the original title, "Mars Is Heaven!", in *Coronet* (condensed) as "They Landed on Mars," in England's *Authentic Science Fiction* as "Welcome Brothers," and in England's *Suspense* as "While Earthmen Sleep." Such a recounting doesn't include the many anthology and textbook appearances and even comic book adaptations of the *Chronicle* tales.

Argosy of England eventually published eight of the stories, and this unofficial serial set up a ready-made reading public for English book publication in 1951. The English first edition deleted "Usher II," restored "The Fathers" as "The Fire Balloons," and in a move which probably reflected the altered contents, changed the title of the entire

book to *The Silver Locusts*. (an image found in “The Locusts” bridge of all versions). Two years later, the Science Fiction Book Club of England published yet a third variant text. This edition added a new story, “The Wilderness,” to *The Silver Locusts* text, and restored the original *Martian Chronicles* title to the book. Beginning in 1963, some American editions have established a “complete” text, a fourth variant that includes all of the seventeen stories and eleven bridges that ever appeared in any edition of the book. Yet a fifth variant text was recently introduced by Doubleday’s Fortieth Anniversary Edition, which restores “The Fire Balloons” to the original text, but does not include “The Wilderness.” Just to add to the confusion, there are editions of the original *Martian Chronicles* text titled *The Silver Locusts*, and *Silver Locusts* texts titled *The Martian Chronicles* (see Appendix B). Every variant remains in print, in original or paper editions.

But even through the complex weave of the reprint history, it is apparent that *The Martian Chronicles* has never (in any variation) lost its original richness of design or unity of composition. It remains an imaginative exploration of the romance and reality found in any frontier experience, and reminds us that the invasion of a new frontier has a cost for both the displaced and the displacers. But is it a novel, or a collection of stories linked by ideas and adventures? The unique history of the text suggests an answer to this critical question.

THE CRITICAL LEGACY

Winesburg, Ohio may, in a general sense, be the spark for the creative fire that became *The Martian Chronicles*. Both writers are natural storytellers, capable of capturing moments of life with great emotional impact, and linking these moments with unifying elements of place and character. But Bradbury’s debt to Anderson stops here. Anderson, already a novelist, wrote his *Winesburg* tales in a single creative burst during the autumn of 1915. He wrote them quickly, almost exactly in the order of the finished book, and made very few revisions. In contrast, Bradbury initially wrote his stories as truly independent pieces, over a long period of time, without a sequence in mind or the long lost “Earthport” outline at hand. Ultimately, he did not follow Anderson’s design for *Winesburg*; when he did think to unite these pieces, a long and intense process of revision and new writing followed. In terms of process, the textual history of *The Martian Chronicles* more closely parallels that of Faulkner’s *Go Down, Moses* than it does *Winesburg, Ohio*. For that project, Faulkner fused ten stories and sketches into a greater whole that centered upon questions of

race and man's evolving relationship to the wilderness. The bridging passages added to "The Fire and the Hearth" and "The Bear," along with the new story "Was," complete the chronicles of the McCaslin family established in the other stories. Finally, the original stories and sketches, hastily offered for piece money to periodicals, were carefully revised and expanded for the final work. Although the new chapters remain distinct pieces of fiction, they are integral parts of a generations-long chronicle which Faulkner eventually came to regard as a novel; in all later printings, he deleted "and Other Stories" from the volume title.⁹

The Martian Chronicles shares this creative pattern. The same kind of transformation from a story collection to a unified fable occurs through the intensive rewriting and reshaping of the independent stories. The result is that the *Chronicles* transcend the classification of "science fiction" that is attributed to its constituent parts. Critics sensed this difference from the start, beginning with Christopher Isherwood, whose early review propelled Bradbury from genre notoriety into the mainstream of American letters. For Isherwood and others, the powerful style and imagination created a Martian setting that, in its totality, became a most compelling American parable.¹⁰

Are these unifying factors enough to give the *Chronicles* recognition as Bradbury's first novel? Traditionally, critics would demur, and for the same reasons given in classifying *Winesburg, Ohio*. Even *Go Down, Moses* (along with *The Unvanquished*) and *The Red Pony* (not to mention *Tortilla Flat* and *The Pastures of Heaven*) are considered cycles of stories, something between a story collection and a novel. In his introduction to the widely-taught Penguin edition of *Winesburg, Ohio*, Malcolm Cowley suggested that such a cycle has "several unifying elements, including a single background, a prevailing tone, and a central character. These elements can be found in all the cycles, but the best of them also have an underlying plot that is advanced or enriched by each of the stories." This definition works for the *Chronicles* as well—at least, as far as it goes. The background is the decline of an Old World, the prevailing tone is the suspense of exploring a New World, and the central character, Mankind. The central plot or fable is the chronicle of the frontier experience.

But in Bradbury's case, a very crucial question remains unanswered by the definition: are these in fact the same stories that existed prior to the evolution of the greater work? The answer rests within the textual record. Here the layers of revision, both in the outlines and the stories themselves, show far more internal transformation than most works of

this kind. Of the twenty-six first edition titles, fourteen (eleven bridges and three stories) were here first printed. The twelve previously published stories all show substantive revision.¹¹ In most cases the rewriting involves a third to one-half of the words and punctuation of the text; in some, it involves as much as three-quarters of the material. Of these twelve, only seven appear in the *Chronicles* with their original titles.

What we find then is a new work in which the sum of the original parts does not equal the revised whole. More than half of the composite text is new or rewritten; nineteen of the twenty-six chapter titles are new or rewritten; and all twenty-six chapter titles are given date prefixes which are, with few exceptions, unique to editions of the *Chronicles*. Clearly, a textual editor in search of the author's final intent for these stories could not look elsewhere—the copy-text for any authoritative edition of the *Chronicles* would have to be based on the first edition, or on pre-publication forms of the text that reflect the author's massive revisions. The previously published story texts do not reflect those revisions, and in most cases don't even reflect the author's intent to write the greater *Chronicles* saga.

The publishing record also demonstrates the coherence of the greater work. Although there are five variant texts to the *Chronicles*, none offers more than a five percent variation in content. This fact is even more remarkable when the entire canon of Martian tales is considered. Despite the existence of at least twenty-one other Martian tales, the many subsequent editions have added only one brief bridge-like story ("The Wilderness") which was not in Bradbury's plan for the first edition text. It's also clear that Bradbury felt very strongly that the revised chronicles represented his final intent, even when they stood alone as stories. As Appendix A shows, the various chronicles have been reprinted and collected nearly fifty times, perhaps more widely than any similar work. Anthology and textbook appearances triple this total.¹² Yet with few exceptions early on, only the revised form—the chronicle form, if you will—is ever reprinted.

The evolution of *The Martian Chronicles* makes a strong case for the argument that the textual history of a work can have a crucial impact on its genre classification. From a bibliographical point of view, *The Martian Chronicles*, like *Go Down, Moses*, is more a novel than such "bricolage" cousins as *Winesburg, Ohio* and *The Red Pony*, where pre-existing parts become a new whole without substantial internal transformation. Discourse of the latter kind works within the framework limitations of the existing materials; that is, the author

"assembles" rather than "creates" the larger work, building from extant stories which share unifying elements. From the bibliographer's perspective, one may easily see how more ambitious experiments like *The Martian Chronicles* transcend the limitations of pre-existing materials through the revising hand of the author.

In sewing together "some sort of tapestry" with his Martian stories, Bradbury essentially wrote an entirely new book. That book became *The Martian Chronicles*. And that book was his first novel. Once he transformed his stories into chronicles, rewriting them and bridging them together, they were changed forever. They might be pulled out from time to time and republished elsewhere as stories, but together they lock into a work that is more than the "half cousin to a novel" that Walter Bradbury ordered up one June day in New York, a long time ago.

APPENDIX A

PUBLISHING HISTORY OF THE INDIVIDUAL CHRONICLES

The complete chronicles appear below in chapter order. Each includes a publishing history, listed chronologically. The histories include periodical reprints, Bradbury story collections, or single story books—that is, the texts over which Bradbury was likely to have exercised some degree of authorial control. Anthology and textbook appearances are not included here.

Title changes also appear in the publication history. Unless a separate title is specifically listed, all the printings of a given story have the title developed by Bradbury for *The Martian Chronicles*. Use or disuse of the date prefix is noted.

"January 1999: Rocket Summer." New bridge passage.

"February 1999: Ylla." Originally published *Maclean's* (Canada) 1 January 1950, as "I'll Not Look for Wine." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* [May] 1950. Original reprinted *Argosy* (England) July 1950; reprinted as revised *Avon Fantasy Reader #14*, 1950, as "Ylla." Collected as revised *The Vintage Bradbury* (1965), as "Ylla."

"August 1999: The Summer Night." Originally published *The Arkham Sampler* Winter 1949, as "The Spring Night." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950).

Reprinted *Esquire* November 1950, combined with "The Earth Men," as "The Great Hallucination"; reprinted *Argosy* (England) February 1951, combined with "The Earthmen," as "Danger Wears Three Faces."

"August 1999: The Earth Men." Originally published *Thrilling Wonder Stories* August 1948, as "The Earth Men." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* [May] 1950. Reprinted

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Esquire November 1950, combined with "The Spring Night," as "The Great Hallucination"; reprinted *Argosy* (England) February 1951, combined with "The Spring Night," as "Danger Wears Three Faces"; reprinted *A Treasury of Great S.F. Stories #1* 1964. Collected, *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), as "The Earth Men."

"March 2000: The Taxpayer." New bridge passage.

"April 2000: The Third Expedition." Originally published *Planet Stories* Fall 1948, as "Mars Is Heaven!"; Reprinted *Argosy* (England) April 1950, as "Circumstantial Evidence." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Reprinted *Esquire* December. 1950, as "Mars Is Heaven!"; reprinted *Coronet* June 1950, as "They Landed on Mars" (condensed); *Authentic Science Fiction #29* (England) January 1952, as "Welcome Brothers"; *Suspense* (England) November 1958, as "While Earthmen Sleep." Collected as revised, *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), as "Mars Is Heaven!"

"June 2001: —And the Moon be Still as Bright." Originally published *Thrilling Wonder Stories* June 1948, as "...And the Moon Be Still as Bright." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* [May] 1950.

"August 2001: The Settlers." New bridge passage.

"December 2001: The Green Morning." New story. Reprinted *Read 1* December 1960, as "December 2001: The Green Mountains."

"February 2002: The Locusts." New bridge passage.

"August 2002: Night Meeting." New story. Reprinted *Identity* 1974; reprinted *Weird Worlds #1* 1978, as "Night Meeting." Collected, *The Vintage Bradbury*, as "Night Meeting."

"October 2002: The Shore." New bridge passage.

"The Fire Balloons." Originally published, *The Illustrated Man* (American editions only, [February.] 1951; deleted from all English editions). Reprinted *Imagination* Apr. 1951, as "In This Sign." Added to all English editions of *The Silver Locusts* ([Sep.] 1951) and *The Martian Chronicles* (1953), and some subsequent American editions of *The Martian Chronicles* (beginning 1963). Reprinted *And It Is Divine* December 1975 (abridged).

"February 2003: Interim." New bridge passage.

"April 2003: The Musicians." New bridge passage.

"The Wilderness." Originally published *Today* 6 April 1952. Rewritten and reprinted *Magazine of Fantasy and Science Fiction* November 1952. Collected, *The Golden Apples of the Sun*, ([March] 1953). Added to English editions of *The Martian Chronicles*, 1953. Reprinted *Everybody's Digest* September

1953, as "Honeymoon on Mars." Collected, *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), *Collected Stories 1* (1990).

"June 2003: Way in the Middle of the Air." New story. Reprinted *Other Worlds* July 1950, as "Way in the Middle of the Air"; reprinted *Duke* August 1957, as "The Day the Negroes Left Earth."

"2004-2005: The Naming of Names." New bridge passage.

"April 2005: Usher II." Originally published *Thrilling Wonder Stories* April 1950, as "Carnival of Madness." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Reprinted *Argosy* (England) Nov. 1950, as "The Second House of Usher"; reprinted *Esquire* Nov. 1951, as "The Immortality of Horror." Deleted from *The Silver Locusts* (1951) and English editions of *The Martian Chronicles* (1953). Added to English editions of *The Illustrated Man* (1952), as "Usher II."

"August 2005: The Old Ones." New bridge passage.

"September 2005: The Martian." Originally published *Super Science Stories* November 1949, as "Impossible." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles*, ([May] 1950).

"November 2005: The Luggage Store." New bridge passage.

"November 2005: The Off Season." Originally published *Thrilling Wonder Stories* December 1948, as "The Off Season." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Collected, *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980).

"November 2005: The Watchers." New Bridge passage.

"December 2005: The Silent Towns." Originally published *Charm* March 1949, as "The Silent Towns." Rewritten for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Collected, *The Stories Ray Bradbury* (1980), as "The Silent Towns."

"April 2026: The Long Years." Originally published *Maclean's* (Canada) 15 September 1948, as "The Long Years." Reprinted *Argosy* (England) March 1949; reprinted *Planet Stories* and *Planet Stories* (Canada) Spring 1949. Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Reprinted *American Science Fiction #19* (Australia) [1953], as "Dwellers in Silence."

"August 2026: There Will Come Soft Rains." Originally published *Collier's* 6 May 1950, as "There Will Come Soft Rains." Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* ([May] 1950). Reprinted *Argosy* (England) August 1950, *The New York Post* 13 March 1955, *Scholastic Scope* 5 April 1971, without title prefix. Collected, *The Vintage Bradbury* (1965), *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), and *There Will Come Soft Rains* (1989), without title prefix.

“October 2026: The Million Year Picnic.” Originally published *Planet Stories* Summer 1946, as “The Million-Year Picnic.” Reprinted *Argosy* (England) February 1950, as “The Long Weekend.” Revised for *The Martian Chronicles* [May] 1950. Reprinted *Tops in Science Fiction* Spring 1953, *Tops in Science Fiction #1* (England) 1954, without title prefix. Collected, *S Is for Space* (1966), *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), and *Classic Stories 2* (1990), as “The Million-Year Picnic.”

APPENDIX B

PUBLISHING HISTORY OF *THE MARTIAN CHRONICLES*

All variants include the eleven bridges that Bradbury wrote for the first edition text. Thus Variants 1 and 2 have 26 total titles, Variants 3 and 5 have 27, and Variant 4 has 28. Editions through 1990 are listed by content variation.

VARIANT 1: ORIGINAL TEXT, WITH 15 STORIES:

The Martian Chronicles. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, [May] 1950. First edition.

———. NY: Bantam Books, [1951]. First American paperback edition. Adds prefatory quotations by Bradbury.

———. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, [1952]. Reprinting of first American edition for the Science Fiction Book Club.

———. Garden City, NY and Toronto: Doubleday, 1958. New edition with a two-page prefatory note by Clifton Fadiman.

The Silver Locusts. London: Transworld Publishers, 1963. The original 1950 American *Martian Chronicles* text, with the 1958 prefatory note by Clifton Fadiman.

The Martian Chronicles. Garden City, NY: [March] 1978. Reprinted for the Science Fiction Book Club.

VARIANT 2: ENGLISH *SILVER LOCUSTS* TEXT, WITH 15 STORIES:

The Silver Locusts. London: Rupert Hart-Davis, [September] 1951. English first edition. Deletes “Usher II” and adds “November 2002: The Fire Balloons.”

———. London: Corgi, 1956. First English paperback edition.

MARTIAN CHRONICLES

The Martian Chronicles. London and NY: Granada, 1979. Paperback. First printing of *The Silver Locusts* text under *The Martian Chronicles* title. Includes a cover scene from the NBC TV mini-series.

———. London and NY: Granada, [1980]. Hardback printing of *The Silver Locusts* text under *The Martian Chronicles* title.

**VARIANT 3: ENGLISH MARTIAN CHRONICLES TEXT,
WITH 16 STORIES:**

———. [London]: The Science Fiction Book Club, [1953]. Adds "May 2003: The Wilderness" to *The Silver Locusts* text.

VARIANT 4: THE COMPLETE TEXT, WITH 17 STORIES:

The Martian Chronicles. NY: Time, Inc., 1963. Paperback. Contains the original Doubleday text plus "The Fire Balloons" and "The Wilderness."

———. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1973. Hardcover. Includes illustrations from the 1971 Italian edition and a profile and bibliography by William F. Nolan.

———. Avon, CT: The Limited Editions Club, 1974. Illustrated by Joseph Mugnaini. Adds a nine-page introduction by Martin Gardner.

———. Avon, CT: Heritage Club, 1976. Illustrated by Joseph Mugnaini.

———. NY: Bantam Books, 1979. Illustrated (b&w) by Ian Miller.

**VARIANT 5: THE "RESTORED" ORIGINAL TEXT, WITH
16 STORIES:**

The Martian Chronicles. NY: Doubleday, 1990. Fortieth Anniversary edition. Restores "November 2002: The Fire Balloons" to the original text.

APPENDIX C

UNCHRONICLED MARTIAN STORIES

These Martian tales never appeared in *The Martian Chronicles*. They are listed in order of first publication; unpublished manuscripts, listed alphabetically, conclude the listing.

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PUBLISHED STORIES:

- "The Piper"** (as Ron Reynolds). *Futura Fantasia* No. 4 [September 1940].
- "The Piper"** (revised). *Thrilling Wonder Stories* February 1943.
- "The Visitor."** *Startling Stories* November 1948. Collected in *The Illustrated Man* (1951).
- "I, Mars."** *Super Science Stories* April 1949. Collected in *I Sing the Body Electric* (1969), *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980), as "Night Call, Collect."
- "The One Who Waits."** *The Arkham Sampler* Summer 1949. Collected in *The Machineries of Joy* (1964).
- "The Lonely Ones."** *Startling Stories* July 1949.
- "The Naming of Names."** *Thrilling Wonder Stories* August 1949. Appears in the A- and B-Chronologies of *The Martian Chronicles*; deleted from the C-Chronology. Collected in *A Medicine for Melancholy* (1959).
- "Holiday."** *The Arkham Sampler* Autumn 1949.
- "The Mad Wizards of Mars."** *Maclean's* (Canada) 15 September 1949. Possibly corresponds to "The October Man" in the A-Chronology of *The Martian Chronicles*; appears in the B-Chronology as "Mr. Edgar Allan Poe Comes to Mars"; deleted from the C-Chronology. Collected in *The Illustrated Man* (1951), as "The Exiles."
- "Payment in Full."** *Thrilling Wonder Stories* February 1950.
- "Death Wish."** *Planet Stories* Fall 1950. Collected in *Long After Midnight* (1976), as "The Blue Bottle."
- "The Other Foot."** *New Story* March 1951. Appears in the B-Chronology of *The Martian Chronicles* as "Sketch: what happened to Negroes?"; deleted from the C-Chronology. Collected in *The Illustrated Man* (1951) as "The Other Foot."
- "The Strawberry Window."** *Star Science Fiction Stories* 3 (NY: Ballantine, 1954). Collected in *A Medicine for Melancholy* (1959).
- "The Lost City of Mars."** *Playboy* January 1967. Collected in *I Sing the Body Electric* (1969).
- "The Messiah."** *Welcome Aboard* (Great Britain) Spring 1971. Collected in *Long After Midnight* (1976). Adapted (by other writers) for the NBC teleplay of *The Martian Chronicles* (1979).

"The Aqueduct." Privately printed as *The Aqueduct*. Glendale, CA: Roy Squire Press, 1979. Collected in *The Stories of Ray Bradbury* (1980).

"The Love Affair." Privately printed as *Love Affair*. Northridge, CA: Lord John Press, 1982. Appears in the A-Chronology of *The Martian Chronicles*; deleted from the B-Chronology. Collected in *The Toynbee Convector*, 1988.

UNPUBLISHED STORIES, BRIDGES, AND FRAGMENTS:

Copies or originals of these typescripts are located in William F. Nolan's Bradbury Collection at Bowling Green State University, or in private collections.

"Christmas on Mars." TS., 6 page story. According to William F. Nolan, the typescript was sold to *Esquire* for a holiday issue, probably in the early 1950's, but never went to press. Probably never intended for *The Martian Chronicles*.

"The Disease." TS., 4 page "bridge" section with title page (pulled from printer's copy). Identified in the A-, B-, and C-Chronologies, but deleted from the first edition prior to publication.

"Fly Away Home." TS., 15-page story with title page dated March 3rd, 1952. Probably never intended for *The Martian Chronicles*.

"Martian Bulwark." TS., 19 pages. Dates from 1942-44, and includes a cover page from Julius Schwartz, Bradbury's first agent.

"The Martian Ghosts." TS., two versions, totalling 6 pages.

"They All Had Grandfathers." TS., 13 pages with title page (pulled from printer's copy). Appears in all three *Martian Chronicles* planning chronologies, but deleted prior to publication.

"The Wheel." TS., 1 page "bridge" section with chronology title page (pulled from printer's copy). Identified in the C-Chronology, but deleted from the first edition prior to publication.

Three untitled single-page story fragments and two "bridge" sections titled **"Thistle-Down and Fire"** (1 page) and **"Fire and the Stars"** (2 pages). According to William F. Nolan, these fragments and bridges were originally intended for *The Martian Chronicles*, but were never completed.

Notes

¹Ray Bradbury, "The Long Road to Mars," foreword to *The Martian Chronicles* (NY: Doubleday, 1990), pp. viii-ix. Written

for the Fortieth Anniversary Edition. Further references to the foreword are noted parenthetically in the text as *MC40*.

²The relevant portion of Professor Mogen's 1980 interview with Bradbury appears in Mogen's *Ray Bradbury* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1986), p. 84. In this interview Bradbury relates a more detailed version of the *Winesburg* connection, and identifies Henry Kuttner as the writer who first introduced him to Anderson's novel.

³Nolan, William F., *The Ray Bradbury Companion* (Detroit: Gale, 1975), p. 43. This work remains the primary published source of accurate biographical and bibliographical information on Ray Bradbury. Mr. Nolan's experiences as a science fiction writer, editor, and long-time friend of Ray Bradbury provided the basic materials for this study. I am deeply grateful to Bill Nolan and to Professor Donn A. Albright of the Pratt Art Institute, whose long friendship with Bradbury and first-hand knowledge of his work were indispensable in solving many publishing mysteries of *The Martian Chronicles*. I am also indebted to Donn Albright and to Mr. Jim Welsh of Bethesda Maryland for providing materials from their forthcoming comprehensive bibliography of Bradbury's work.

⁴Moskowitz, Sam, introduction to the original version of "The Piper," reprinted in *Futures to Infinity*, ed. Sam Moskowitz (NY: Pyramid, 1970), pp. 181-82.

⁵The original outlines used as Figures 1-4 are the creation and property of Ray Bradbury. Figures 1 and 3 were previously published by William F. Nolan in *The Ray Bradbury Companion* (1975); Figures 2 and 4 are first published here. Permission to reproduce these materials has been granted by Ray Bradbury. Further reproduction of these materials requires the same permission.

⁶The complete publication history for each of the *Chronicles* chapters is located in Appendix A; book publication history of *The Martian Chronicles* appears in Appendix B. Page numbers for the magazine and first edition passages quoted in this article appear parenthetically in the text. Permission to reprint major passages from the magazine and first edition texts of "There Will Come Soft Rains" / "August 2026: There Will Come Soft Rains" has been granted by the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company and by Ray Bradbury. Permission to reprint major passages from the magazine and first edition texts of "Mars Is Heaven!" / "April 2000: The Third Expedition" has been granted by Ray Bradbury. Further publication of these materials requires the same permissions.

⁷In his preface to a reprint of "Ylla" in August Derleth's *The Outer Reaches* (NY: Pellegrini & Cudahy, 1951), Bradbury describes how he drafted the story seven times before initial publication in *McLean's* 1 January 1950 issue. Only Bill Nolan's copy of the final typescript stage survives, but this acknowledged process of revision reveals how "Ylla" stands as the transitional project between the earlier three stories of first contact and the

revised form of these stories as they finally appear in *The Martian Chronicles*.

⁸The major discussions of the frontier themes in *The Martian Chronicles* and other Bradbury fiction include David Mogen, *Ray Bradbury*, pp. 63-93, and his two contributions to the Science Fiction Westerns series, *Wilderness Visions* and *New Frontiers, Old Horizons* (San Bernardino, CA: Borgo Press, 1981 and 1987). Other significant studies precede Mogen, and include: Wayne Johnson, *Ray Bradbury* (NY: Ungar, 1980), pp. 112-19; Edward Gallagher, "The Thematic Structure of *The Martian Chronicles*," in *Ray Bradbury*, ed. Martin Greenberg and Joseph Olander (NY: Taplinger, 1980), pp. 55-82; and Gary Wolfe, "The Frontier Myth in Ray Bradbury," also in Greenberg and Olander's *Ray Bradbury*, pp. 33-54.

⁹The principal examination of Faulkner's process of revision in *Go Down, Moses* remains Joanne Creighton's *William Faulkner's Craft of Revision* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1977), pp. 85-148. Relevant bibliographical studies include James B. Meriwether's "The Short Fiction of William Faulkner: A Bibliography," in *Proof 1* (1971): pp. 293-329, and Joseph Blotner's endnotes to *Uncollected Stories of William Faulkner*, ed. Joseph Blotner (NY: Random House, 1979). Of the many published checklists of collections, the most useful is Meriwether's *The Literary Career of William Faulkner: A Bibliographical Study* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Library, 1961; reissued University of South Carolina Press, 1971).

¹⁰Isherwood's groundbreaking review appeared in *Tomorrow* (October 1950), pp. 56-58.

¹¹As one might expect, the revisions to "I'll Not Look for Wine" ["Ylla"], "Carnival of Madness" ["Usher II"] and "Impossible!" ["The Martian"] are the lightest—these three stories were published in periodicals after Bradbury completed revisions for book publication in the fall of 1949, and show considerable effects of this revising process in the magazine versions. Nevertheless, each appears in *The Martian Chronicles* with a new title and several hundred words of revised or new text.

¹²Research by Donn Albright and Jim Welsh for their forthcoming Bradbury bibliography *October's Friend* reveals a total of 144 anthology and textbook reprints of *Martian Chronicle* chapters through 1992—including 47 different textbook reprints of "There Will Come Soft Rains."

**VICTOR OVER SIN: HARRY CREWS'S
CRITIQUE OF THE PHALLIC ETHIC
IN *A FEAST OF SNAKES***

Michael P. Spikes

Arkansas State University

Harry Crews is an important voice in contemporary Southern literature whose work is often overlooked. Author of numerous novels, two books of essays, and an autobiography, Crews, who was raised in dire poverty in rural south Georgia and currently teaches at the University of Florida, is a master chronicler of the dark, depraved, and obsessional side of human nature. His novels, and many of his essays, are full of freaks, violence, sexual perversion, addictions, and madness of all sorts. On the surface, the last thing that most of these texts seem designed to do is promote traditionally Christian ideals and values. Yet, as Ruth L. Brittin points out, Crews's "upbringing within a Southern Protestant fundamentalist sect has a profound and inescapable effect on him..." (79). Despite appearances, ultimately "the values he [Crews] upholds in his novels," Brittin maintains, "seem to be Christian ones" (99). Through examination of the seamy and sinister and in an idiom that is, frequently, maximally vulgar and obscene, Crews makes subtle and profound points about the human condition which are often surprisingly in accord with fundamental Christian beliefs.

Perhaps the grimmest of all Crews's grim works is the one which is also perhaps the most deeply Christian: *A Feast of Snakes*. Published in 1976 and probably his finest novel to date, *A Feast of Snakes* very subtly yet powerfully champions Biblical virtues and character. Most of the characters in this book are pathetic, foolish, or overtly and outrageously malevolent. Evil, in a variety of guises, stalks virtually every page and seems to triumph, in one way or another, throughout. Inserted in the cast of derelict, deranged, and downtrodden losers which populate the book, however, is an apparently minor figure, a charismatic backwoods preacher, whose posture and vision are antithetical to the predominant ones. "One of the lessons Derrida has taught us," Eve Tavor Bannet points out, "is that the most effective way of coming to grips with a text is not necessarily to meet it head on; and that sometimes a more 'oblique' approach, which focuses on apparently incidental, peripheral, or extraneous details, reveals more about the workings of a text or about its inner contradictions" (203). This Derridean lesson is certainly a very valuable one to keep in mind in deciphering Crews's novel, for the apparently minor figure turns out to hold the key to understanding what *A Feast of Snakes*, on its deepest

level, is truly about. Though the country preacher's physical presence is extremely limited, his spirit is, albeit often obliquely and covertly, present everywhere. The dominant, un-Godly surface of Crews's tale is, in the final analysis, thoroughly deconstructed by the peripheral voice of the Godly minister.

The principal players in the novel are male, and the code they live by might be roughly described as red-neck macho gone to seed. These characters are crude, competitive, and violent in their relationships with other men and domineering, impersonal, promiscuous, and cruel in their relationships with women. They all seek power; their identities are grounded in a phallic pride which drives them into attempts to achieve dominance over their worlds through acts of raw aggression. This ethic is perhaps most clearly and particularly exemplified in the character of Joe Lon Mackey, the novel's central consciousness. Mackey is an ex-star running back for his hometown Mystic, Georgia, Rattlers whose glory days are far behind him. Because he "liked blood and bruises" (49) much more than books, he finished school an illiterate and was thus unable to pursue almost certain stardom in college athletics. As the novel opens, Mackey, two years out of Mystic High, finds himself in a job he despises—manager of his father's small-time liquor store—married to a woman he loathes, with two infant sons he cannot abide. "[H]e has no future," Larry W. DeBord and Gary L. Long observe, "only an endless unchanging present he hates" (45). Throughout the book, Mackey responds to his situation with hypermale gestures of toughness and control designed to fend off the pain and secure for himself some sense of worth and dignity.

These gestures are perhaps most apparent in his relationships with others. With men, he asserts his will to dominance through defensive bravado and callous bullying. Near the beginning of the novel, Joe Lon verbally jousts with Willard Miller, the current football hero in Mystic. The scene begins with the two making a wager on how fast one of Mackey's snakes can eat a rat and ends with Miller boasting, "I can beat you at anything" and Mackey, not at all in jest, responding "You better back you ass out of here before you get it overloaded" (22). Though on the surface a rather trivial incident, this interchange reflects the deep structure of Joe Lon's dealings with men he considers rivals. He competitively guards his turf, making sure to let the other know who is boss. Those males he does not respect, meaning essentially those he views as less virile than himself, he sadistically abuses. At one point Mackey and a couple of his tough-guy cohorts mercilessly pick on a shy, paunchy, middle-aged salesman who makes the mistake of

attempting to join in their fun. Joe Lon winds up pirating this man's car, punching him in the stomach, and generally frightening and humiliating him so badly that he defecates in his pants (102-08).

Joe Lon's behavior toward women is in many ways more brutal than his behavior toward men. By his own admission, he treats his wife Elfie "like a goddam dog" (12). In ugly displays of masculine dominance, he does such things as angrily stuff a greasy biscuit down the front of her blouse (11), have sex with an ex-girlfriend in his and Elfie's bed (115-18), and even beat his wife (40). Elfie is wholly kind and loving to her husband, but this love and kindness have absolutely no positive effect, are no match for Joe Lon's cruelty, which he uses to physically and emotionally squelch her. And his comportment with other women is not much better. His "romance" with high school sweetheart, Berenice, consisted almost entirely of drinking and loveless fornicating. He treats her, to use John Seelye's characterization, like "a kind of life-size Barbie Doll with openings" (625). When mid-way through the novel she returns home from the University of Georgia for a visit, Joe Lon, sick of his wife and jealous of Berenice's achievements, decides he will have her one more time. He takes her to his and Elfie's bedroom and there attempts to force her into anal intercourse. The only thing that prevents his move from being an act tantamount to rape is that Berenice, at first resistant, eventually freely relents to Joe Lon's desires (115-18). The sex they have is devoid of love and virtually even devoid of lust. Observes Seelye, "sex is, in a Crews novel, a metaphorical if not literal adjunct to anger..." (618). This is certainly the case in Mackey's encounter with Berenice, for all he really wants, and to a large degree manages to achieve, is to vent his rage and assert his sexual power.

Mackey is certainly not an aberration in Mystic, Georgia. In fact, he is fairly typical. Most of the men in this small Southern town are immersed in an ethic of raw male power and violence. Joe Lon's father, while never physically abusive to women, nonetheless drove his wife and Joe Lon's mother to suicide through his cruelty. He also once castrated a black man who stole from him and, on another occasion, scalped a white man for reasons no one can quite remember (40). The sheriff of Mystic, Buddy Matlow, is a rough, crude ex-All American lineman for Georgia Tech who lost his leg in Vietnam. Buddy likes to lock up attractive, helpless women, especially black women, and then rape them. Duffy Deeter arrives in the second half of the novel from his Gainesville, Florida, home. He is married but accompanied not by his wife but by Susan Gender, an attractive graduate student in philosophy

from the University of Florida. Deeter spends most of his days pumping iron and verbally sparring with Joe Lon and Willard. When he makes love to Susan, he enjoys inflicting physical pain upon her and fantasizing about people being tortured to death in concentration camps. Outwardly, at least, all these men dominate others, control their worlds, and generally assert their power through their macho acts.

This male ethic of outward toughness and sexual dominance, of violence and power, that pervades Crews's novel is literally and symbolically intertwined with the host of snakes which infests it from the title to the final page. The entire story revolves around a rattlesnake roundup that is held each year in Mystic. People come from miles around to participate in this event, and most everyone in the community is either directly or indirectly involved with it. There is scarcely a page which does not contain some reference to the live snakes Joe Lon and others collect, to the various artistic representations of snakes people are constructing, or to the rattlesnake mascot of Mystic High. One of the things snakes have always traditionally symbolized is the phallus, and this association is certainly strong and evident in *A Feast of Snakes*. Seelye makes reference to the "ancient phallic connotations" of the "titular beast" (624), and David K. Jeffrey more explicitly and generally points out that "snakes symbolize male power and threat here [in the novel]..." (47). Throughout the book, symbolic equations are constantly drawn, sometimes quite directly and sometimes more obliquely, between snakes and both the literal phallus and the male ethic of violence and power which, at least in this context, the phallus signifies.

Perhaps the most obvious connection between snakes and the phallus can be found in a scene where Buddy Matlow, wearing a condom with a rattlesnake painted on it, accosts Lottie Mae, a young black woman he sometimes likes to jail for sexual purposes. The narrator describes the action as Matlow, having cornered Lottie Mae in his car on a deserted backroad, prepares to make his violent move: "She turned her head and saw a snake standing in his [Matlow's] lap. Right in his lap a snake rose straight as a plumb line, no striking coil in its body but arrow straight on its tail, and at the top of its body the mouth was stretched and she could see needle fangs like tiny swords" (129). Almost equally as obvious is a reference Joe Lon makes in his recollection of an evening he and Berenice spent rolling around in an empty pit used at contest time to collect snakes. As they fantasize about being in the pit when it is full, Joe Lon crudely exclaims: "Snakes and dicks. Sweet slick dicks and snakes" (31). Other direct

connections include dildos in the form of snakes that are being hawked by merchants at the roundup (53), and a man with a live snake around his neck who asks Lottie Mae: "You do wrong for a quarter, girl?" (124).

Even without such blatant links between snakes and the phallus and its destructive potential, the phallic significance of snakes in the novel would still be obvious. The very fact that all the characters who operate according to the hyper-male law of raw aggression and power are constantly associated with snakes—through the roundup, through the Mystic High mascot, through eating and keeping and in various other ways using snakes—is enough by itself to make the symbolic connection clear. Crews constantly reminds us, in these indirect as well as direct ways, of the phallic motive behind the behavior of Joe Lon and his compatriots.

As apparent and pervasive as the symbolic connection between snakes and the phallic law is, perhaps even more obvious and prevelant is the symbolic equivalence between snakes and evil. Notes Jeffrey, "they [snakes] also function in another traditional symbolic way throughout the novel, as emblems of religious evil" (47). The most telling and direct of all these links is drawn by the backwoods charismatic preacher, Victor. Victor appears only three or four times in the novel, and all of these appearances are very brief. All we really learn about his background is that he is a minister in a snake handling church in Virginia who comes to the roundup each year to purchase rattlesnakes for his services. The first time he appears, seventy-five pages or so into the text, he fearlessly lashes out at Willard Miller, who is making fun of him. "The great dragon was cast out," Victor barks. "The old serpent called the devil and satan which deceiveth the whole world. He was cast out into the earth and his angels were cast out with him" (76).

Here Victor explicitly equates Satan with a snake, the form he assumed in the Garden of Eden. In so doing he evokes the entire story of the Fall of Man with all of its theological implications. Satan, the embodiment of evil, was finally "cast out into the earth" through the transgression of Adam and Eve, a transgression which cursed and tainted mankind forever, leaving it with the mark of original sin. Victor is suggesting a fundamentalist Christian theology which views individuals, including Joe Lon Mackey and all his tough guy acquaintances, as, in their natural state, necessarily and inescapably mired in evil. Richard Gray has observed that people in much Southern literature have traditionally been seen not as "innocent and perfectible,

but, on the contrary, deeply flawed, weighed down by the burden of inherited failure (184-85). In his evocation of the doctrine of original sin, Victor, and through him Crews, is placing himself squarely within this traditionally Southern vision of man.

It is interesting and significant to note that Victor refers to the serpent as a deceiver. Just as Adam and Eve fell prey to Satan's lie that they, as the Genesis writer puts it, would "be as gods" if they ate of the fruit of the forbidden tree, so, it might be argued, do Joe Lon Mackey and company succumb to the deception that they will achieve god-like control and status by partaking of raw violence and power. That is, the acts of extreme aggression and dominance these men commit may be viewed, as I will attempt to show in what follows, not only as generalized evils, which they certainly are, but also as, at their root, reenactments of the specific form of original sin: prideful disobedience to God's law born of delusions of grandeur. In Victor's theology, of course, Joe Lon and his cohorts are born into original sin, but what I am suggesting is that the behaviors they freely choose to engage in as adults repeat the pattern of the evil which cursed them, and all others, from the outset. As noted, the phallic, in the exaggerated forms it assumes in Crews' book, is associated with snakes. Since Crews also explicitly represents evil, specifically the evil embodied by Satan in the Garden, with a snake, snakes therefore function as a symbolic link between the phallic and Satanic evil, original sin. Put another way, Victor's reference to Satan as the serpent associates snakes in the novel with a specific form of Christian evil, and this association, in turn, implicitly condemns the phallic ethic and its practitioners, also associated with snakes, as expressions and conveyors of that form of evil. Victor's appearances in *A Feast of Snakes* may be few and short—we actually hear very little more of his theology than what he gives in the above cited response to Willard—but his message, as briefly stated as it is, stands as a clear judgment against the entire way of life that the principal male characters in the novel lead.

That the phallically motivated and snake associated behaviors Joe Lon and company indulge in are evil is manifestly clear. Wife beating, attempted rape, fantasies of torture, merciless humiliation of the weak and helpless would fit most any definition of evil; they certainly qualify as sins within the Christian framework from which Victor is operating. Flannery O'Connor, a Southern author whose grotesque vision is in many ways similar to Crews', wrote over thirty years ago that "[t]he novelist with Christian concerns will find in modern life distortions which are repugnant to him, and his problem will be to make these

appear as distortions to an audience which is used to seeing them as natural....” Consequently, she continues, “he may well be forced to take ever more violent means to get his vision across to this hostile audience” (33-34). Perhaps something like this reasoning is behind Crews’ portraits of Joe Lon and his crowd, for their acts are not merely bad, rather they are outrageously and grotesquely malevolent. Like O’Connor’s Christian novelist, Crews presents evil in extreme and exaggerated forms in order to shock a likely benumbed audience into recognition of the sinister depths of human nature.

That the evils the men in the novel commit are ultimately sins of prideful delusion with disastrous consequences, that these sins mimic the form of original sin, is also evident. All of the male characters who practice the phallic ethic seek control and personal satisfaction, but none ever truly achieves these goals in any deep and meaningful sense. All deceive themselves into believing that un-Godly acts of aggression and possession will yield outward and inward success, only to discover that these acts actually lead to various forms of ruin, to a Fall. William J. Schafer has noted that “Crews’s world is one of people bent into grotesque, freakish shapes by their own misunderstood needs and desires...” (88). Certainly, one might argue that Joe Lon and company’s “misunderstood” longings for dominance, their deluded quest for god-like masculine identities, bends their souls into “grotesque and freakish shapes.” Like Adam and Eve, these characters are damned to misery and defeat by their illicit and misguided cravings.

Mackey, for example, is utterly unhappy and inwardly beaten. His life is absolutely without direction or purpose. At one point toward the end the narrator bluntly and succinctly sums up his condition: “He [Mackey] was miserable beyond measure” (161). Clearly, Joe Lon’s acts of aggression and phallic bravado have brought him no lasting pleasure and, finally, they do nothing to enhance his outward condition or self-esteem. Often such behavior causes him considerable remorse and guilt. For example, after a particular instance of macho cruelty levied against Elfie, Mackey feels “sick with shame” (11). Always, this behavior works to create bitterness and misery in his relationships with women and coldness and shallowness in his relationships with men. Mackey never experiences real love with a woman, or for that matter even truly pleasurable sex, nor does he ever establish any supportive and meaningful friendships with other men; his violent and defensive attitudes prevent such bonds from ever forming. Furthermore, his hyper-masculine posture is obviously no help in improving his professional status; he remains a has-been athlete working at a menial

job he hates from beginning to end of the novel. Though Joe Lon's macho acts result in such seeming conquests as humiliations of Elfie and sexual dominance of Berenice, these triumphs are ultimately trivial, fleeting, and empty. Joe Lon deceives himself into thinking that obeying the serpentine, phallic law will enable him to control his world, but he discovers that such obedience is actually a prescription for disaster.

None of the other male characters fares any better. Duffy Deeter has the lovely Susan Gender, but he doesn't really enjoy her, not even sexually. At one point the narrator tells us that Deeter watches Susan "in a kind of ecstasy of loathing" (81). And he uses his concentration camp fantasies during sex "to shut out her voice and her body" (80), presumably in a passionless and fearfully competitive effort to prolong his sexual performance and thus to prove his virility. Deeter's young trophy finally brings him no pleasure; his attempts to impress end in unfulfilling, perverted thoughts and emotions. Sometimes acts of machismo are outrightly punished. When the rattlesnake condom that Buddy Matlow is wearing is standing fully erect in his lap, a terrified Lottie Mae, who has had all she can tolerate of the Sherriff's sexual assaults, takes out a razor and very neatly removes his penis (129). That the he-man All American from Georgia Tech has his mighty serpent dispatched by a scared young girl obviously signifies the ultimate impotence of excessive phallic impulses. Matlow and Deeter achieve momentary and superficial victories through their machismo—Matlow successfully subdues several women and Deeter does hold captive the physically attractive Susan Gender—but, like Joe Lon, they ultimately lose miserably in their efforts to attain god-like power and pleasure through worship of the snake, devotion to the un-Godly phallic ethic.

Though Victor's theology implicitly condemns Joe Lon and the other practitioners of the phallic law through the symbolic linking of snakes with Satan, it also offers a way out of the gloom and death these men suffer. There is possible salvation from the ills of original sin. That salvation lies in repentance and faith in Christ. Victor, late in the book, alludes to this possibility when he speaks of "the forgiveness of sins according to the covenant of Jehovah" (159). In other words, Victor's message is not entirely one of judgment, but also one of hope. Unfortunately, Joe Lon and the others never heed this message. Consequently, they are never saved from the blight of their sin, never discover an exit from their destructive, evil lifestyles.

It is instructive to contrast the quality of the lives of Joe Lon and the other representatives of the phallic law with that of Victor's. Even

in the little we see of him, we know that Victor is a man of solid purpose. His life has certain meaning and direction. He is absolutely convinced that he should be and is serving the greater glory of God. As Mackey himself confesses in a tone of fear and deep respect,...he [Victor] *believes* all that stuff about the snake and God” (76). The country preacher never suffers any of the shame, emptiness, or humiliation that the others do. Instead, he remains strong and proud to the end. This strength and pride radiate even in his outward appearance, making him look much more fearsome and virile than any of the inwardly rotting tough guys. The Virginia preacher has the look of an Old Testament prophet with “twisting tufts of hair [that] stood out like something driven into his skull...,” and a fire in his eyes and voice that “always made Joe Lon’s heart jump” (101). This is no lunatic who, as Allen Shepherd has argued, is “given to roaring Old Testament gibberish” (60). This is not a man who, as Jeffrey maintains, is “bizarre and monomaniacal—offer[ing] Joe Lon no promise of salvation or even relief” (52-53), nor is he, as Ruth L. Brittin contends, “incomprehensible and mad” (98). Rather, he is a man on a mission with a powerful and painfully clear message. Granted, that message—the little bit we hear of it—is cast in a mystical rhetoric and delivered with fervent passion, and Victor’s snake handling marks him as one who believes in tangible signs from God and as a minister who, though certainly not one of a kind, is out of the mainstream. Still, as Brittin herself admits, Victor is a “sincere and honest preacher” (98), depicted by Crews with “considerable kindness and sympathy” (80), and ultimately “the only person he [Joe Lon] could admire” (98).

Crews’ message could not be clearer. Those who practice the evil phallic ethic ultimately do not profit. The wages of this sin, which repeats to the form of original sin, are spiritual and physical barrenness, death, and destruction, the same wages earned by Adam and Eve. Godliness, on the other hand, brings strength, purpose, and contentment. It also creates a true, as opposed to blustering and finally sham, sense of virility. To be sure, we see so little of the country preacher that we cannot know for certain that he is above the gross indiscretions that Mackey and his crowd commit, but the fact that the few times he does appear he is either immersed in the study of God’s word or preaching, coupled with the fact that he is held in such high regard by Joe Lon, strongly suggest that Crews means for us to view this man as beyond reproach. Victor’s own theology implies, of course, that he too is born into sin. Victor, however, has evidently grasped “the forgiveness of sins according to the covenant of Jehovah” that he

preaches. That is, he, though certainly not perfect, has, through the power of God, overcome the corruptions of the flesh, escaped the shackles of original sin, as Mackey and the rest have not. Though his appearances are only occasional, Victor illustrates the positive power of Christian good and the New Testament message. Implicitly, through the contrast of his life with the lives of the others, he accents the bankruptcy of evil and the need for forgiveness.

Perhaps the clearest indication that Crews means for us to see Victor and his values as vastly superior to Joe Lon and the code he and the other men live by can be seen in the difference between the way Mackey and the preacher deal with snakes, emblems of evil and the phallus. Joe Lon is, though fascinated by snakes, generally cautious, sometimes fearful around them, certainly never daring or able to handle them. This caution and lack of mastery are metaphorically indicative of the fierce power his phallic drives have over him. Significantly, Mackey is finally devoured by snakes. In the novel's closing scene, Joe Lon goes berserk, levelling his shotgun on a crowd at the roundup festivities, killing several. The angry and frightened mob retaliates by hurling him into a pit of venomous vipers. "He fell into the boiling snakes, went under and came up, like a swimmer breaking water," the narrator tells us. "Snakes hung from his face" (177). Symbolically, this final scene obviously highlights Joe Lon's absolute inability to ever cope with his phallic impulses and the original-sin-like evil those impulses generate when unchecked. He is ultimately consumed and destroyed by the phallus and its poisonous potential.

Victor, on the other hand, has mastered snakes, is absolutely unafraid of them. Joe Lon's father reports that in his services the preacher "strings diamondbacks in his hair like a lady strings ribbons. I seen him kiss a snake and a snake kiss him....He's been bit everywhere. It ain't no more'n a kiss from his ma. He follers where God leads him" (101). Though a very human male living with and in the same world of phallic impulses and evil that Joe Lon lives with and in, Victor, as already pointed out, apparently has a literal control over those impulses and that evil that Joe Lon does not. This literal control is symbolized and confirmed by his ability to handle and control, as Joe Lon cannot, deadly snakes, emblems of the phallus and Satan. True to his name, Victor, through God's leading, triumphs over the original sin drive for God-like power which defeats Mackey and his crowd. In him good wins out over evil as it never does in Joe Lon and the others.

The first person Mackey kills in his shooting spree is Victor. This is not surprising in light of the fact that the snake handling preacher is

a threat and goad to Joe Lon throughout the novel. Victor, as noted, is the only man who is ever able to make Mackey's "heart jump" in fear. In their very first encounter, Joe Lon evidences an awed respect for the preacher when he warns Willard Miller to "[l]eave him [Victor] alone" (76). It is as if Mackey knows that Victor possesses a power and inner peace that Mackey himself does not. It is as if he understands that he, like the others, is in need of what Victor represents and that his own lifestyle is a disaster. Says Brittin, "Joe Lon is affected by Victor, knowing he himself is wrong in all he does" (97). But Joe Lon, so deeply sunk in his sin and pride, is unwilling to change, unwilling, as are the other men, to reach out for the forgiveness that the fierce preacher speaks of. So he kills Victor. He kills him in a last gasp, hopeless effort to rid himself of this reminder of his weakness and failure, of his inferiority. As Brittin puts it, the shooting is Mackey's attempt to get "rid of his conscience, his guilt, and the cause of his guilt" (98). The killing does give him brief relief, but, as Donald Johnson points out, "his momentary control is illusory" (105). As noted, in the end Joe Lon dies, symbolically drowned in the evil he has lived by and perpetrated. Victor, also, physically dies. But, Brittin observes, he dies a martyr for his faith (98). The preacher and his values ultimately triumph, even in the preacher's death.

To be sure, Victor is not the only good person in the book. Elfie, for instance, demonstrates Christian virtues of kindness, patience, and fidelity. Though she suffers humiliation and pain at the hands of her husband, she, like Victor, maintains throughout an inner peace and purity, a victory in spirit, that Joe Lon and his kind do not. Significantly, the only man in the novel who we know is able to satisfy a woman in any more than a superficial, fleeting way is not a macho tough guy but is instead a man who is described as "short and nearly bald,...soft, almost feminine looking...." (119). This man, Billy, gives Joe Lon's mother the love and affection she is unable to find with her cold, violent, hypermasculine husband, Big Joe. Certainly, Billy and Mackey's mother technically violate the letter of Christian teachings by committing adultery. But if ever a woman had reason to commit adultery, if ever a woman were driven into it by her spouse, it is surely Joe Lon's mother. Crews shows through Billy that Christ-like virtues of gentleness, meekness, and love can satisfy, even sexually, as arrogant, aggressive, insensitive machismo cannot. Like Victor, Billy and Elfie are peripheral characters; Billy is mentioned only once, in a brief recollection of a time long passed, and Elfie, though she appears several times, is an ancillary figure, merely a target for Joe Lon's rage.

In Derridean fashion, Crews uses seemingly minor characters to make his major points. He undermines the foregrounded ethic through marginalized voices of difference and dissent.

A Feast of Snakes does not vindicate *all* those who claim to be religious. Big Joe is a member of the Church of Jesus Christ with Signs Following and a quite obviously un-Godly man. Victor, the principal spokesman for the Christian world view in the book, is, however, a very sincere, very real man of God, a true, if somewhat maverick and mystical, representative of the power and purity of Christian faith. It is significant and fitting that this genuine man of God who so profoundly affects the meaning of the text does appear only a very few, very brief times, that he is a peripheral character. As noted, Joe Lon Mackey is the central consciousness of the novel. As Jack Moore explains, "[t]hrough the book is not written from Joe Lon's first-person perspective," nonetheless his "sensitivity dominates the places and scenes and observations of the novel" (64). The fact that Victor so infrequently appears reflects Joe Lon's effort to shut this man out of his mind, to keep his challenging message at a distance. But Crews' point is that ultimately such effort is futile. Victor—and those with similar values, such as Elfie and Billy, whose voices Victor represents—will let his presence be known and have his say, even in a world mired in evil which tries to push him, and the others, to the margins. All he needs, the novel demonstrates, is a small opening. For his personality is so powerful and his message so strong that they work to deconstruct the predominant values that reign in Mystic, Georgia.

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**THE APOCALYPSE OF PRIVILEGE:
POPE'S MISREPRESENTATION OF
RICHARD BENTLEY IN
*THE DUNCIAD***

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Tradition has it that Pope's animosity towards Richard Bentley was born over dinner one evening at Dr. Mead's, soon after the publication of Pope's edition of Homer. As the story goes,

Pope, desirous of [Bentley's] opinion of the translation, addressed him thus: 'Dr. Bentley, I ordered my bookseller to send you your books; I hope you received them.' Bentley, who had purposely avoided saying any thing about Homer, pretended not to understand him, and asked, 'Books! books! what books?' 'My Homer,' replied Pope, 'which you did me the honour to subscribe for.'—'Oh,' said Bentley, 'ay, now I recollect—your translation—it is a pretty poem, Mr. Pope; but you must not call it Homer.'¹

In effect, by pointing out the gap between Pope's poem and the classical presence it was to represent, Bentley accused Pope of the crime with which Pope, in *The Dunciad* IV, would later charge Bentley: the creation of an arbitrary, self-serving verbal order fobbed off as learning. The mirroring here suggests that each writer's contempt for the arbitrary sway of language compelled him to construct verbal systems built of precisely what each writer loathed.

A close look at what Bentley wrote and did reveals that his critical eye saw things quite the inverse of the fragmented "microscopic wit" he is accused of in *The Dunciad*. Far from useless pedantry, Bentley's notion of the critic placed him as no less than the arbiter of scriptural legitimacy and interpretation, thereby making verbal criticism the methodic guide not just to school work but to *revelation*, and would so in a way that aimed to avoid what he deemed the twin evils of the time: slavish popery and unguided enthusiasm. Though Bentley sought to link this critical method to disinterested "sincerity," his practice of it sought highly interested ends, such as Anglican and Whig hegemony at the national level—and naked self-interest at the personal.² Surely the insidious injection of ideology into scriptural interpretation smacks of just the abuses that fueled Bentley's contempt for papists. On its own,

there is a self-transgression worthy of pursuit, but in this essay I will ponder why Pope insists on representing Bentley as the *inverse* of the energetic, politically scheming character he was. Why does Pope insist on making Bentley sleepy and irrelevant when he was open to harsher charges?

Much of my interest focuses on these writers' constructions of hierarchies out of the very chaos they perceive threatens their sense of true Order. As Peter Stallybrass and Alon White point out, such hierarchies are necessarily conflictual because their terms rest upon that which they exclude.³ In Pope and Bentley, we find that texts designed to institute correct relationships between words and things (which preserve presence by excluding pretenders) come to be infected by the idolatry and self-love those texts aim to purge.

So despite their stylistic, social, and political differences, Bentley and Pope come to share what Pierre Bourdieu cites as a necessary compulsion for those who would institute and conserve a system of symbolic domination: they must naturalize the arbitrary and politically interested character of the system of reference which they deploy to gain ascendance and maintain order.⁴ While each writer desires a self-evident relationship between system and truth, a key difference in their techniques and temperaments is that Bentley was striving to establish his—a new order defined by Newtonian physics, Protestant revelation, and Whig commerce—while Pope could appeal to received notions of common sense, that referential system which Augustan humanism had already managed to convert from history into nature.

In *The Rhetoric of Science*, William Powell Jones remarks that "Pope's *Dunciad* reflects the classical gentleman's scorn for the one-sided specialist who lacks decorum."⁵ The historical perspective Jones's book creates reveals the conservative *topoi* Pope could rely on to carry his argument against the new science even though he misrepresents it and the historical figures who helped promote it. That empirical experimentation threatened the genteel conventions on which political ideology rested is marked by satires directed at scientists, an English tradition that started, claims Jones, in 1662 with the birth of the Royal Society and persisted well into the nineteenth century.⁶ As does *The Dunciad*, these satires aim to reduce the experimenters to persiflage: as is the political tactic today, the aim is to "de-territorialize" the intellectual by making her seem an irrelevant crank, detached from social reality.⁷ But the derision carried fierce political and religious freight after the 1660's, as Sir Charles Boyle and other protestants took into their experiments the Baconian zeal that scientific

investigation could dismantle superstition and discover nature's primary laws. Furthermore, as Jones argues, experimentation opened learning to all classes, thus threatening social as well as religious hierarchies.⁸ So experimenting academics, though represented as ridiculous, came to evoke keen political resonances during the Restoration which lingered well into the eighteenth century.

Given the heat that the rhetoric of science provoked, I agree with Vincent Carretta's claim that *The Dunciad IV* is concerned with "The Politics of Education," though by examining the mis-representation of Richard Bentley I will focus on the violence implicit in Pope's apparent blind spots. Pope claims that one of the effects of tyrannical Dulness is to "blot out Order," that is, "the distinctions between high and low" (4: 14). What I would like to demonstrate, using the logic of transgression articulated Stallybrass and White, is that Pope's satire creates order and distinction only after performing precisely the verbal tyranny it vilifies.

As Carretta points out, "Pope sees contemporary education as serving the political ends of Dulness";⁹ Dulness needs pedants because they force minds to adhere to arbitrary fragments—words divorced from things and use—and thereby prepare students for passive obedience to "arbitrary sway." So dulled and abjected to a single source of devotion, Pope argues, the minds of England miss the irony of the Whig support of Monarch over Liberty, "The Right Divine of Kings to govern wrong." Pope summarizes his position on verbal tyranny in a note, emphasizing that finally "Modern Education...establishes Self-love for the sole Principle of Action."¹⁰ The world goes dark as solipsism reigns, sucking wisdom from the universe like a black hole draws light. But as the logic of transference suggests, maybe the dark is from Pope's eyes. Is the apocalypse Pope predicts not so much the *end* of civilization as its *movement away* from the system of reference Pope tries to preserve as absolute for fear that an alternative cosmology would expose his own as merely verbal—as more arbitrary sway?

As Bourdieu explains, ideological systems such as Pope's classicism depend upon a misrecognition of their arbitrary and exploitive status in order to reproduce themselves most economically; essential to that "genesis amnesia" is the transformation of history into nature, achieved by establishing the self-evident character of representation to apparently objective structures—or in Pope's terms, words to things.¹¹ With those ideological interests in mind, we see his strategy in attacking Bentley's verbal criticism as a splitting of words from things, thus violating the common sense that Pope appeals to

here which assumes that words have fixed, innate meanings—that is, that words mean by evoking links to reality that Pope’s cultural conservatism would sustain as natural, not historical. In Pope’s logic, the tyranny of Bentley’s criticism is that it breaks the *natural* order of words and meanings and so enslaves the mind from the order it would spontaneously seek if left free. This is why, as Pope explains in a note, “no branch of Learning thrives well under Arbitrary government but *Verbal*.”¹² That is, just as the pedant’s rules supposedly cut students off from the self-evident meanings and applications of words, so the tyrannical monarch (as James I illustrates) imposes laws that cut subjects off from natural liberty. As Carretta points out, Pope argues for a “mixt government” that would “form the inherent tension between the force of monarchy and that of liberty.”¹³ To extend the analogy Pope established between politics and education, we can imagine that he would advocate a healthy dialectic between the study of words and the “useful knowledge” to which they naturally refer.¹⁴

Though that tension between monarchy and liberty, instruction and use, may *sound* dialectical, as Bourdieu argues, such apparent oppositions function on assumptions we misrecognize due to their self-evident status, and those insidious assumptions guarantee that the interests of the dominant class will be effortlessly reproduced.¹⁵ Clearly, what Pope aims to naturalize are the conventional ties between words and the notion of “useful knowledge” his Augustan hierarchies are built on. So long as he can maintain such conventions as self-evident, then verbal criticism and the new science must appear to his audience as Pope describes them—as arbitrary, fragmentary and corollaries to tyranny—since the larger, progressive contexts they actually work within are unimaginable to one settled into the received common sense to which *The Dunciad* appeals. In brief, there is deceit in Pope’s construction of what is arbitrary and what is meaningful in the study of words. That Pope’s common sense rests on exploitation is foregrounded if we examine how Pope’s imagination resolves a complicated historical referent such as Richard Bentley. What I will argue is that Pope’s representation of Bentley transgresses Pope’s own principle distinction between high and low when he *performs* verbal tyranny in order to *represent* it as a threat we should exclude.

Pope’s broadest and most necessary misrepresentation of Bentley’s thought and character involves aligning him and new science with Cartesian mechanics. Descartes’ cosmology argues for a material *plenum*, meaning that all space is actually filled by matter, thus reducing all motion to mechanical causation—in effect, in the context

of *The Dunciad*, absolute tyranny by the sway of one force. Pope signals this cosmology early on by describing how “one instinct seizes...all the nations” who “Roll in her Vortex” (4: 74, 72, 84), with “vortex” here the clear marker of the Cartesian system. Late in the poem, Pope’s note reminds us of the materialism he combats. Commenting on this couplet—“Thrust some Mechanic Cause into his place, / Or bind in Matter, or diffuse in Space”—he remarks that “The first of these Follies is that of Des Cartes, the second of Hobbes, the third of some succeeding Philosophers.”¹⁶ Pope’s point is to highlight the folly of determinism that results from a notion of material plenum that squeezes out free will and spirit.

It is into that compressed space that Pope inserts Bentley. Warburton’s notes (to lines 255-271) makes that move explicit. Discussing the way Bentley makes students a “Slave to words” by teaching things without profit, Warburton concludes,

there is one general Method...and that is
AUTHORITY, the universal *Cement*, which fills all the
cracks and chasms of *lifeless* matter, shuts up all the
pores of *living* substance, and brings all human minds to
one dead level.¹⁷

Thus the charge is that Bentley’s arbitrary verbal orders, as he admits in the poem, “dim the eyes, and stuff the head” (4: 249), turning students into passive, concretized blocks who then roll in the cement plenum of Dulness’ vortex.

No doubt this is a brilliantly dense fusion of imagery and contemporary science, succinctly melding in the figure of the vortex those issues of education, literature, philosophy, and politics that Pope says he is interested in (note to line 501). But I wonder if there isn’t a perverse vortex at work in a passage of poetry that coheres as tightly as Pope’s does. In yielding to the pleasure of this dense text, might readers get caught up in Pope’s own verbal sway? If, then, his words are broken off from things—if their relationship with historical referents is merely willful, i.e., arbitrary—doesn’t Pope, in effect, dim our eyes and stuff our head as we yield to his order, swayed by our desire for unity and aesthetic pleasure? If so, the text does not do what it says; contrary to its claims, it performs the self-transgression that partial discourses rely on in order to naturalize their own conflicted origins.¹⁸

To resist that vortex that whorls us within the magic circle of the text’s formal boundaries, I would like to examine a few words that

Pope's character Bentley speaks that the historical Bentley actually wrote. The aim here is to trace Pope's caricature of Bentley in order to reveal the its outline as ideological (thus self-reflexive) stamp. Though Pope, to emphasize Bentley's solipsism, has Aristarchus say that "on Words is still our whole debate" (4: 219), in fact, as he articulated in his popular Boyle Lectures, Bentley was a Newtonian who advocated empirical research—he even "fitted up" the first chemistry lab at Cambridge.¹⁹ Among the very first to deploy the new science in a defense of Christianity, his aim with *those* words was precisely the opposite of what Pope has him say. Bentley's Protestant rage against Papal superstition drove him to seek proofs of God apparently outside strict scripture, from, as he put it, "the Frame of the World."²⁰ Is this approach a fragment or a meal to an age craving reconciliation between materialism and church traditions?

In those Boyle Lectures Bentley is explicit in his rejection of the Cartesian *plenum* and other forms of materialism to which Pope reduces science in *The Dunciad*. But more precisely to the point is that the historical Bentley uses the word "cement" to express his perception of how the Newtonian void allows for free will and thus faith in an omniscient intelligence that holds particles together in coherent design despite the vast vacuum that surrounds them. Protestant divines endorsed Newton's cosmology because, as the system stood in the years just following the publication of *Principia*, its empiricism and mathematics were viewed as rigorous tools of thought that could cut through Catholic superstition and thus lead to a more firm grasp of the forces that transcended reason and thereby offered rational arguments for the existence of a Christian God. How else to explain the presence of gravity (Newton assumed it was *not* innate in matter) or of the precise design of the solar systems within a void so huge that random collisions could never occur with the frequency required to settle matter into such order?²¹ So Bentley's use of "cement" refers to the mystery revealed by faith that gives order to life, and this order applies simultaneously to three concentric spheres of influence. At the cosmological sphere—"the frame of the world"—"cement" is a figure for "the immediate *fiat* and finger of God" which "holds together this magnificent structure of the world" (Bentley 75). Moving inward to the socio-political sphere, "cement" figures "the influence of religion upon communities" because governments, says Bentley, depend on oaths offered to an omniscient being to sustain "ties of friendship and honour" (24-5). Finally, at the most inner, psychological level, Bentley uses "cement" to account for the "invisible tie...whereby matter and an

incorporeal mind, things that have no similitude nor alliance to each other, can so sympathize by a mutual league of motion and sensation" (224). In each case, "cement" signals an order beyond reason that unites matter which otherwise would be scattered randomly in a void. Importantly, notice that in the two human spheres, this binding can only occur to those with faith: social cement is not 'strained, and it adheres in individuals—hence, there is space for free will. As the historical Bentley used it, "cement," metaphorizes faith which gives order to particles scattered in the void of the self, society and the cosmos—this is really the *inverse* of the mechanically encrusted "dead level" to which Pope's Bentley gloats he can reduce students.

Pope's Bentley appears to be an inverse distortion of the man. In the Boyle lectures, he is passionately committed to spiritual wholes since his overt enemy is Hobbesian atheism, with its emphasis on mechanical causation and brute self-interest. Thus Pope's caricature of Bentley as proud Aristarchus, advocate of the study of words isolated from things and cultural context, reeks of the demonized. Pope's fears makes selected fragments of Bentley's work stick to a movement (the Satanic principle of Self-Love) that the writings actually resist. Rather than represent the Newtonian Bentley of the Boyle Lectures who insists on empirical observation and rational methodology to expand faith beyond the words of received tradition (and here we should recall Pope's own flirtation with Newtonian physics²²), Pope instead distorts Bentley's language in order to convert him to the solipsistic pedant enrap in his self-spun "slender store" of words.

We can catch Pope at it again if we trace the thread of reductive insect imagery back a few lines to Aristarchus's account of his "critic Eye" as "that microscope of Wit" which "Sees hairs and pores, examines bit by bit" (4: 234-5). But here is what Bentley actually had to say about insects and the effect of microscopic eyesight on humans:

if the *eye* were so acute as to rival the finest microscopes, and to discern the smallest hair upon the leg of a gnat, it would be a curse, and not a blessing to us; it would make all things appear rugged and deformed...the smoothest skin would be beset all over with ragged scales and bristly hairs....Such a faculty of sight...would be little better than blindness itself (58-9).

What is fascinating is that in his *Essay on Man*, Pope appears to copy Bentley's revulsion to the microscopic:

Why has not man a microscopic eye?
 For this plain reason, man is not a fly
 Say what the use, were finer optics given,
 T'inspect a mite, not comprehend the heaven?
 Or touch, if trembling alive all o'er
 To smart and agonize at every pore.²³

Here we catch Pope at his instrumentalizing worst. In order to provide a vivid image that bolsters his polemic against those who imagine meanings outside established convention, Pope converts his source into an antagonist, thereby erasing his debts and associations with what he now attacks. Furthermore, he then represents those sources as low in order to separate himself from a former dependence and thus elevate Pope's own literary stature. Significantly, this is a pattern that adheres to Pope's relationship with Grub Street in general, most concretely in his antagonistic relationships with the publishers he used.²⁴ More theoretically, in his drive to lower others in order to elevate himself, we see the destructive mechanism of *ressentiment*, particularly in the motive to "outdo the master's [perceived] insults and better the instruction."²⁵

But to return to Bentley. Granted, his projects and remarks often approach self-parody, his pride in "discovering" the "digamma" among them. As Bentley is said to have proclaimed to a fellow Greek scholar,

Dionysius of Halicarnassus,...Aristarchus and
 Demetrius were all dunces, and knew nothing of the
 Digamma; which I have restored the use of, after it had
 been lost 2000 years.²⁶

But his pride and precision did not necessarily make his wit microscopically fragmentary. Pope has Aristarchus insist that "our Digamma...o'er tops them all" as an indication of verbal criticism's supposed disrespect for the ancients and its inward spiral from world to word, word to letter, letter to factional disputes about *sounds* of the letter ("Disputes of *Me* or *Te*"). Furthermore, Pope makes the *size* of the printed letter—it "o'er tops them" *literally* on the page as it was printed—signal how pride compels the drive to smaller horizons, but then compensates by *swelling*, a portrait of puffery whose comic absurdity is worthy of Monty Python.

But again, the push of the historical Bentley's mind was to conceptual expansion, not contraction, despite his puffery. First of all, the history of the printed digamma's size reveals how Pope himself

fixes on a part to express his sense of the whole: as Bentley's biographer James Monk informs us, "Bentley's printer [had] no better method of representing the Digamma than by a Roman capital F."²⁷ As a result, the digamma *would* appear rather exaggerated, as if to draw attention to itself and Bentley's discovery; a sample might appear this way: ageu Fmpomi. But if it stood out, the reasons were at least in part typographical, not sherey imperial, as Pope claimed. Most important, however, were the contributions to Homeric studies and poetry that the digamma and its pronunciation made beyond the issue of the letter that Pope fetishized. Is it *Pope's* eye that fragments by obsession with the microscopic here? The literary issue of digamma is not about typesetting but about pronunciation and therefore *rhythm*, one of the widest frames of reference that shapes the epic. That is, Bentley saw the small particle as crucial to the "offensive hiatus in the verses of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*" that had vexed classicists and lovers of Homer for centuries; with the restored letter and pronunciation, editions of the poem became more authentic, and readings became more prosodically pleasing.²⁸ So the historical Bentley saw that the fragment *can* contribute crucially to the meal. As his use of "cement" as concentric spheres also suggests, Bentley's eye was not microscopic, it was *microcosmic*.

So Pope's inverted Bentley is more violent than mere caricature, but further, I would argue that by pointing out the nature of the misrepresentation we can observe how the violence backfires on Pope. After all, for satire to conserve common sense, as *The Dunciad* aims to, it must preserve, in Pope's own words, a distinction between high and low—thus the insane world represented in the poem highlights by contrast the sane world of received hierarchies that supposedly reside in us naturally. To keep that distinction alive—on which also rests Pope's insistence that, naturally, words are fixed to things—the world represented must be close enough in spirit to the poem's words to prevent Dulness from sticking instead to the poet who created her to smear his enemies. In other words, given Pope's attacks on solipsism, if the caricatures don't stick to the profaned historical world, the poem's outside *implodes* into self-referentiality and the poem loses the high / low, inside / outside distinction it aims to enforce, in effect inhaling what the poet's words would purge.

I believe this implosion is just what happens in Pope's abuse of Bentley. Pope wants to distance us from historical trends such as Bentley's hypnotic verbal tyranny, but when representations function by means of the very tyranny they claim to expose, then there is no

outside for readers to retreat from because now tyranny adheres in the only categories of thought and language that yield access to that excluded Other. Recalling Stallybrass and White, we see that, once again, hierarchies are built upon contradictions and so express an inverse relation of connection with, not distance from, the disgust that fuels their reactive recoil.

I have already pointed out the principle of tyranny that occurs as Pope charges Bentley with a vision only of microscopic verbal fragments when in fact it is Pope who has fragmented Bentley's scholarship and arguments for a Newtonian "frame of the world." To use Pope's own terms, here arbitrary sway—Pope's twistings of Bentley's language that now appear determined by the demonized principle of "Self-Love"—stuffs the reader's head with words torn from their "natural" meanings, that is, torn from the context Bentley had historically established for them. This tearing from context carries the further self-transgression of recalling Pope's own attack on *virtuosi* (4: 397 ff). Instead of linking words to things, *The Dunciad* compels its readers to roll in Pope's formal vortex, turning the wheel of an effect of tradition that Bourdieu calls "the habitus," the momentum of culture that naturalizes exploitive representations and consequent social asymmetries, a circular confirmation process with which our scholarship is complicit when it reproduces Pope's caricature uncritically.²⁹

That so much of the aesthetic unity of the Pope's poem is achieved by the very tyrannical impulse he condemns foregrounds a corollary of the conflictual foundation of hierarchies; to draw again from Stallybrass and White, we learn that "disgust always bears the imprint of desire."³⁰ Although their sentence applies too broadly to *The Dunciad* to do much justice to in this essay, I would like to conclude my discussion of Pope's representation of Bentley with a speculation on Pope's desire for what he claims disgusts him. As I have suggested, *The Dunciad* is about seizing power by catching others up into an arbitrary sway of signifiers, and that is how it performs as it sucks up historical figures and eager readers, then converts them to a position that Pope manipulates with the anal glee of the *virtuosi* he castigates in the passage on Annus (4: 347-94). We have already seen how Bentley gets transformed in Pope's vortex, but I want to emphasize that it happens to the reader, too: by mistaking Dulness and her manifestations as allegorical references to historical conditions, readers then distinguish between that "low" world of temporal process and the "high" world of established practice. But once we recognize how ideologically interested

Pope's representations are, we understand that the "common sense" we revert to out of disgust is not a given separate from it but rather also a construction in an *inverse relation* to and thereby dependent on, even *infected* by, the object of disgust.

But calling the subject merely an effect of language lets Pope off too easy. I am more inclined to grant him willful intention in the self-transgression of *The Dunciad*, thereby aligning aesthetic control not merely with the virtuosi's anality, but with Auden's sadistic joker who compensates for his own lack of identity by stealing another's autonomy in order to destroy it. In the drive to elevate the self through the abjection of another is also, as we have noted before, Nietzsche's critique of such negative mastery through *ressentiment*. Either way, this creation of identity through contempt must ultimately—as does the self-transgressive structure of *The Dunciad*, as I have argued here—undermine the desire that drives it.³¹

Of course, a more sympathetic reading of Pope could also claim that the self-transgressive structure of *The Dunciad* is in response to the decay with which history threatens unitary subjectivity. But whether the motivation is desire or fear, my point is that Pope's move is toward the displacement of history into aesthetic structure. This move aims to resolve conflictual experience by totalizing it in the imagination, thereby masking the historical contradictions that provoke the subject into writing. The irony, of course, in this move is that in believing that imaginative totality—in Pope's believing his own rhetoric—the subject misrecognizes the temporal, mediated status of the thought structures on which he has built that totality. So, once again, Pope's attacks on Dulness's arbitrary verbal sway only serves to highlight that issue in his own position, which he presents as natural. Or, to grant Pope reflexivity, perhaps his awareness of the verbal status of his own classicism actually fuels his contempt for hack work that exposes the scribbled nature of the civilization he aims to defend from the advance of Dulness.

I am inclined to grant Pope the creeping awareness that the jig is up: as Grub Street de-mystifies writing and destabilizes humanism, its dunces expose a rift in the supposedly self-evident fit between language and truth. So the apocalypse Pope predicts is self-referential: what he foresees is the end not of the world, but of the end of Augustan classicism as the sole sun of reference around which all civilized signifiers revolve. Once people recognize that the orders signified by writing are expressions of chronic interest rather than eternal

inspiration, the "Order" Pope formerly enjoyed must end, making the dread black out of civilization the apocalypse of privilege.

NOTES

¹In *The Twickenham Edition of the Poems of Alexander Pope*, ed. John Butt (London: Methuen, 1943), 5: 344.

²The documented cases of Bentley's arrogance and vindictive abuse of power are too many to do him justice in this essay. Suffice to say that twice formal charges and a call for his dismissal were brought upon him by his faculty; twice those charges passed, despite Bentley's pull at court, all the way to a Bishop's judgment against him; and twice the Bishop *died* just prior to sentencing, preventing Bentley's dismissal from power at Trinity College. Bentley was also venal. The most celebrated case for that charge was his selling his never-completed edition of the Bible by subscription, for which he even wrote up an advertisement. Called "Bentley's Bubble" by his Tory antagonists at the college, when he received his first payments for it he "is said to have shaken the guineas in his hand and exclaimed, 'None but the poor in mind would refuse gold when offered'" ; in R. J. White, *Dr. Bentley: A Study in Academic Scarlet* (Lansing: Michigan State UP, 1968), p. 188. The classic and certainly most exhaustive account of Bentley remains James Henry Monk, *The Life of Richard Bentley*, 2 vols. (London: F. Rivington, 1833). On Bentley's push for Anglican hegemony, see Margaret Jacob, *The Newtonians and the English Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1976), p. 18. For Bentley's lectures and essays on cosmology and classical scholarship, see *The Works of Richard Bentley*, ed. Alexander Dyce, 3 vols. (London: Macpherson, 1838). Quotes from this edition will be cited parenthetically in this essay as "Bentley." For a rather glowing account of Bentley's contributions to classics studies, see M. L. W. Laistner, "Richard Bentley: 1742 - 1942," in *SP* 39 (1942), 521; a more balanced appraisal appears in E. J. Kenney, *The Classical Text* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1974).

³See *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (London: Methuen, 1986), p. 2.

⁴Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* trans. Richard Nice (1972; Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1977), p. 183.

⁵William Powell Jones, *The Rhetoric of Science* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), p. 66.

⁶The satires were so prevalent that Thomas Sprat in his *History of the Royal Society* warned that "wits and railleurs of this age...shall decry the promoting of experiments [and] deprive themselves of the most fertile subject of fancy". He also chides his opponents for "making [science] ridiculous because it is *new*." In W. P. Jones, *Science*, p. 64.

⁷I borrow this term from Mary Louise Pratt, who used it during a 1991 colloquium at UT-Austin to describe the efforts of contemporary conservatives to make advocates of multiculturalism appear out of the mainstream. Thus their positions, along with other forms of putative "Politically Correct" thinking, are made to seem un-American.

⁸W. P. Jones, p. 112.

⁹In Vincent Carretta, *The Snarling Muse* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1983), p. 141.

¹⁰*The Twickenham Edition*, 5: 391.

¹¹See Bourdieu, "Modes of Domination," *Outline*, pp. 159-197.

¹²*The Twickenham Edition*, 5: 358.

¹³Carretta, p. 148.

¹⁴"Useful knowledge" appears in the note on education, *Twickenham Edition*, 5: 358.

¹⁵Bourdieu's expression for this hidden circular process that converts history into nature is the "habitus," p. 79.

¹⁶*The Twickenham Edition*, 5: 387.

¹⁷*Ibid*, p. 369.

¹⁸By "self-transgression" I draw on Gayatri Spivak's use of the term in her account of the "point where a text covers up its grammatological structure," in her "Translator's Preface" to *On Grammatology* by Jacques Derrida (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1974) p. lxxiii.

¹⁹See Monk, vol. 2, p. 202.

²⁰Bentley, *Works*, p. xi.

²¹Bentley discusses these Newtonian features in "Confutation of Atheism from the Origin and Frame of the World," *Works*, p. 163 ff.

²²In *This Long Disease, My Life* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1968), Marjorie Nicholson and G. S. Rousseau argue that Pope attended lectures by a millenarianist named William Whitson who fascinated Pope with new physics—until Whitson's wacky project for discovering longitude (which later worked) drew fire from the Scriblerus Club, prompting Pope to retract his interest and deem those earlier lectures he'd attended the "wicked words of Whitson." This scornful revision ties in with points I will make later about Pope's abuse of his those he once relied on.

²³Dyce, Bentley's editor, excerpts an article in the *Quarterly Review* (46 [1824], 128-129) that not only argues for this link, it further points to both authors' debt to a passage in Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*.

²⁴Here I refer to Pope's fabled dependency on and abuse of his publisher, Barnaby Lintot.

²⁵In Walter Kaufman, *Nietzsche* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1950), 372.

²⁶Monk, 2: 367.

²⁷*Ibid*, p. 362.

²⁸*Ibid*, p. 362.

²⁹"The habitus, the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations, produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective condition of the production of their generative principle...[Thus] the 'unconscious is never anything other than the forgetting of history itself produces by incorporating the objective structures it produces in the second natures of the habitus,'" in Bourdieu, p. 79. To claim the aesthetic recalls forms of experience distinct from history is to reinscribe history in the very forms of escape from it.

³⁰*Transgression*, p. 191.

³¹Sartre explores the self-defeating trajectory of desire in sadism and masochism in Chapter Three of *Being and Nothingness* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1956): "sadism and masochism are the two reefs on which desire may founder," p. 404.

**ABSALOM, ABSALOM!
AND THE SOUND AND THE FURY:
QUENTIN'S FAILURE TO CREATE A MYTHIC
RECONSTRUCTION**

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In 1936, American publishers released two very different novels about the American South. One, Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With the Wind*, upholds and perpetuates the mythos of the South: fine old families lounging on porches sipping mint juleps, pickaninnies strumming their banjos, and willful Southern belles and gentlemen triumphing over the repressive, vulgar regime of the carpetbagging Yankees. The other, William Faulkner's *Absalom, Absalom!*, strips away the glamorous, false myth and presents the facts as they really are: a disintegrating, rotten society epitomized by an ambitious West Virginian of poor white-trash stock, Thomas Sutpen, and a Southern boy who, with his Harvard roommate, pieces together the criminal and moral racism of the Judith-Henry-Charles Bon relationship.

Faulkner offers, in both *Absalom, Absalom!* and *The Sound and the Fury*, a contrast between the old myth of the South and the new, factual vision of that depressed and defeated geographical region. Faulkner even tells his fable of Quentin Compson in a discontinuous, nonlinear fashion; *The Sound and the Fury*, detailing events five months later than those of *Absalom, Absalom!*, was actually published seven years earlier. It makes sense, however, for a reader to examine the events occurring in *Absalom, Absalom!* first; Quentin is not yet as psychically removed or as psychologically isolated in inescapable fact as he is in *The Sound and the Fury*. Quentin casually notes, in his narrative voice in *The Sound and the Fury*, of the three boys fishing that "They all talked at once...making of unreality a possibility, then a probability, then an incontrovertible fact, as people will when their desires become words." This observation exactly describes Quentin and Shreve's reconstruction of the Thomas Sutpen story in *Absalom, Absalom!*. The two young men are capable, together, of making an unreality or myth into an "incontrovertible fact." Quentin loses this ability in *The Sound and the Fury*; or, rather, he cannot comfort himself by moulding the distressing fact of his relationships with Caddy, Shreve, Spode, Gerald and Mrs. Bland, and Deacon into more tolerable personal myths. Quentin fails at any kind of mythic

reconstruction of his personal life in *The Sound and the Fury*. He commits suicide knowing that he cannot get around the “unarguable truth” as he continues to examine it relentlessly “like under a microscope” (*Sound* 195).

One question must immediately be addressed in any interpretation of both *Absalom, Absalom!* and *The Sound and the Fury*: whether or not the two male Quentins are actually meant to represent one character. The two Quentins must, indeed, be the same person; it is no accident that both are young men from Jefferson, Mississippi enrolled in their freshman year at Harvard. John T. Irwin, in refuting another critic’s opinion that the two Quentins are not the same, remarks that “Poirier’s assumption that Quentin’s personal history, because it is contained in another novel, is therefore inapplicable to *Absalom* seems to be a particularly inappropriate principle to apply to the works of a writer like Faulkner, whose novels are parts of a single continuing story.” Irwin’s approach to Faulkner’s narrative style is a sensible one. Faulkner does write a sprawling epic across several narratives which the reader must interconnect in order to get a whole, though still not necessarily continuous, picture of Yoknapatawpha County. Cleanth Brooks and John Pilkington agree with Irwin in labelling the Quentin of December 1909 and January 1910 as the same one who commits suicide on 2 June 1910. Pilkington quotes Faulkner as saying, during his University of Virginia lectures, that “ ‘To me he’s consistent...Quentin was still trying to get God to tell him why, in *Absalom, Absalom!* as he was in *The Sound and the Fury*.’ ” No one doubts that the two Quentins of the two separate novels are at least different sides of a single personality. Otherwise, one could never argue that the Quentin who is so obsessed with his relationship with Caddy that he must commit suicide could be the same character who never once mentions his sister in *Absalom, Absalom!*. But, just as Shreve is Shreve McKenzie in *The Sound and the Fury* and Shrevlin McCannon in *Absalom, Absalom!*, Quentin is cosmetically different though just as psychologically troubled in both novels. Quentin shows the madman’s frightening capacity for utter psychic absorption; it is just like the Quentin of *The Sound and the Fury* that, in *Absalom, Absalom!*, he should ignore all else in his manic reconstruction of the Sutpen saga.

In his article entitled “Gender and Generation in Faulkner’s ‘The Bear,’ ” Patrick McGee discusses the conflict between history and myth and thus offers some useful distinctions between these two difficult terms.¹ For the purpose of this analysis of history and myth in *Absalom, Absalom!* and *The Sound and the Fury*, McGee’s comments

on Isaac McCaslin's reservations about the stark historical record of the commissary ledgers are particularly relevant. McGee notes Isaac's frustration with "the indifferent accounting of the ledgers" (50) and with the absence of a "moral order" or "an interpretive frame of reference that would guide every reading to the same totalization of history expressive of a proper beginning and ending, of a true myth of origins" (49). McGee further remarks that Isaac finds in the ledgers "a mystery...which can only be grasped through speculative reading and imaginative reconstruction" (49-50), and finally that "The only truth Isaac can find in the ledgers is the truth he puts there, the truth that arises out of his ability to re-imagine and to re-create the tragic moment that the markings in the ledgers merely hint at" (50). In other words, McGee persuasively argues that Isaac McCaslin is dissatisfied with an unbiased, chronological recording of past events, that is, history itself. Isaac craves truth but will only believe in an event that has been reconstructed according to his own speculative input. Like Shreve and Quentin before him, Isaac perceives himself as a creator of new Southern myths. But even more important, all three characters struggle with recognizing that history and myth are artificial social structures that interconnect even as they often contradict each other. That is why Faulkner depicts Isaac, Shreve, and Quentin as *revising* and *recreating* their texts; they begin with historical representations of fragmented truths and then graft onto these "facts" whatever moral interpretations they need to try to come to terms with the entire past event. This sort of mythic reconstruction of history is Quentin Compson's sole occupation throughout both *Absalom, Absalom!* and *The Sound and the Fury*, with the one important variation being that in *Absalom, Absalom!* Quentin has his roommate Shreve to share in his speculations, while in *The Sound and the Fury*, Quentin is essentially alone as he realizes his isolation from both myth and history.

In *Absalom, Absalom!*, Shreve approaches the history of Sutpen from a purely factual stance at first. Quentin sees Sutpen from an exaggerated, mythic perspective and has a harder time trying to release himself from his biased view than does the more unaffected Shreve. Quentin, finally, cannot accommodate the myth of the South with the scandalous facts about Sutpen's family. Shreve achieves satisfaction and a facile contentment from his extrapolations. Quentin, lying in the darkness and shivering, finds no happiness in the answers they have deduced. He cannot live with either the myth or the reality. The reader sees just how desperate Quentin has become by his suicide at the end of his section of *The Sound and the Fury*.

“History” and “myth” are terms that have become both very significant and complex in their social and linguistic contexts. Raymond Williams, in *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, gives the primary meaning of the word “history” as an “organized knowledge of the past” and the secondary meaning of the word as the sense that “past events are seen not as specific histories but as a continuous and connected process.” But before Williams offers this definition, he briefly traces the early English use of the word and reveals that until about the fifteenth century “history” and “story” were “both applied to an account either of imaginary events or of events supposed to be true.” Faulkner imbues Quentin and Shreve with a similar disregard for labelling events as strictly fact or fiction; no fact is sacred as they piece together the “stories” of Sutpen and Judith, Henry, and Charles Bon, Shreve hoping to acquire a rudimentary understanding of the South and Quentin desperate to find comfort and security and his own place in history. Therefore, as Quentin and Shreve weave together history and story or myth, what becomes increasingly important is the storyteller’s success with and pleasure in his narrative. As Shreve becomes ever more enthusiastic and engaged in his story, Quentin retreats further inward, until the last scene of *Absalom, Absalom!* shows him shivering in the dark, cocooned and isolated. Even given the chance to rewrite history to his own specifications, Quentin fails to find a satisfactory vision. Attempting the same mythmaking process alone in *The Sound and the Fury*, Quentin fails utterly to find his voice as a narrator, jumping between disconnected impressions and events and eventually opting to commit suicide in order to create an absolute, incontrovertible end to his story.

Williams explains that the first meaning of “myth” was as a fable or story or tale, but that this definition evolved so that a “myth” came to mean “not only a fabulous but an untrustworthy or even deliberately deceptive invention.” And, while this negative meaning of the word persists today, Williams notes that a positive definition also exists: “myth” has an anthropological resonance that suggests a deeper truth about human thinking, development, and religious or spiritual practice than can be discovered by science alone. Quentin’s ambivalence to the mythos of the South reflects both his psychological turmoil and the complex contradictions inherent in any myth itself. For example, Quentin has absorbed the fable of Southern landowner as gentleman as part of his unconscious, regional ideology. He cannot, however, reconcile this myth with the apparent fact that Sutpen may not have always been a gentleman and that his ostentatious furniture could have

been anything but honestly purchased. The two men differ in their ability to accept ambiguity; Thomas Sutpen relishes the challenge of inventing lies in order to infiltrate the myth of the Southern gentleman, while Quentin Compson retreats from the psychological confusion. And when the myth Quentin and Shreve create is little more in places than sheer invention—they cannot be certain that Henry rejected Charles Bon as a potential brother-in-law because of his African-American blood—Quentin denies himself the compensatory pleasure of participating in Shreve's daring myth of a new human race fathered by Jim Bond.

Shreve first becomes interested in the Sutpen saga, in *Absalom, Absalom!*, while still grounded almost wholly in objective reality. He refers to Miss Rosa Coldfield as " 'this Aunt Rosa.' " He cannot understand how Quentin and the rest of the Compsons can feel such a powerful sense of duty and obligation for an old spinster if she is not related to them. Quentin explains poetically and even mythically that Miss Rosa is " '...an old lady that died young of outrage in 1866 one summer' " (218), but Shreve still does not truly understand the connection. Shreve is looking for an economic or familial relationship between the Compsons and Miss Coldfield; he does not understand the Southern sense of chivalry which requires that the womenfolk be protected.

Shreve continually interrupts Quentin's narrative with literal questions. He asks Quentin what the name was of " 'the nigger on the mule' " (*Absalom* 234) to whom Mr. Compson gave the reins when he and Quentin were out shooting quail. Quentin tells him that the servant's name was Luster—a fact that means very little to Shreve. It would apparently make better sense to the reader if Shreve, a stranger to Southern types, would only concern himself with the mythic image of a small black boy, dutifully holding the reins for his big, white master and cleverly tying the tow sack around his head to protect himself from the inclement weather. Shreve, however, does not do this. He does not want to see Luster as a mythic stereotype, as Quentin almost surely does, but rather as an individual person. Shreve wants to envision Luster as a distinct entity not just as another (black) body filling a traditional, domestic position.

Shreve continues to demonstrate his devotion to factual history when he corrects Quentin's statement that Sutpen is from West Virginia. Shreve reminds Quentin that West Virginia was, in the early 1800s, still a part of the state of Virginia. Quentin's reaction to this factual correction is the identical, resigned one that Shreve gave when

Quentin corrected him about Miss Rosa's title of address: " 'All right all right all right' " (*Absalom* 275). Each man reacts quite strongly when shown not to understand fully the other's perspective. Shreve wants Quentin to go on with his story, without his expecting Shreve to comprehend how a family can feel responsible to someone who " 'was no kin' " (218). Quentin wants Shreve to let him go on with his story without stopping him to clarify mere historical details. Neither narrator is yet ready to allow fact and myth to be combined for a true but also imaginative history.

It is fitting that Shreve's important breakthrough into a partially mythic interpretation of the Sutpen family history comes when the two students discuss Sutpen's own epiphany. They are speculating about the liveried black servant from Sutpen's past, and Quentin suggests that he may " 'have had the felicity of being housebred in Richmond maybe' " (*Absalom* 290). Shreve, breathing excitedly, adds, " 'Or maybe even in Charleston' " (290). Shreve has now entered into the reconstruction of the Sutpen myth, so he volunteers his own suggestion about the Southern city in which the liveried house servant was trained. His choice of Charleston, a town second only to the capital city of Richmond for its antebellum splendor, is a good one. Shreve reveals, in this single, parenthetical sentence, his gradual initiation into the mythic community of the Southern aristocracy.

As the two men go on to discuss Sutpen's adventure of recapturing the truant French architect, Faulkner subtly underscores the fact that Shreve and Quentin are beginning to observe and recount their history from two much closer perspectives. Faulkner reminds his reader that although "both born within the same year: the one in Alberta, the other in Mississippi," they are connected by the Mississippi River, which serves as both a "geologic umbilical" and the "very Environment itself which laughs at degrees of latitude and temperature" (322). This intentional image of the umbilical cord symbiotically linking Quentin and Shreve emphasizes the fact that Shreve is not only beginning to understand the Southern myth as Quentin relates it but also beginning to feel that he is an integral, albeit extended, part of that same myth.

Shreve has not, however, completely abandoned his conviction that any history is first a factual assessment of the truth. He asks Quentin how any of the listeners ever understood what the story-telling historians were describing unless they, the listeners, were there too. Shreve concludes by asking Quentin if he " '...wouldn't have known what anybody was talking about if [he] hadn't been out there and seen Clytie' " (*Absalom* 342). Shreve, here, sounds precisely like a

professional historian. He is questioning Quentin's veracity and making certain that Quentin is also a primary source of information. Shreve still cares more for the truth than for his experimental forays into the mythology of the South.

Shreve never fully embraces the Southern mythic mentality. He does seem, though, to be more receptive to the myth Quentin perpetuates than Quentin is to the history Shreve proclaims. Quentin remains quite somberly involved in his narrative; he does not, for instance, seem to hear Shreve's insistently repeated question about whether Sutpen did or did not reject a son born to him by Milly Jones. Quentin's ignoring of Shreve's question is doubly important; it shows that, in the Southern mythos, the elderly Sutpen would *never* reject a son and heir he wants so badly for his old age—which Shreve does not understand because he is not truly part of the Southern mindset—and that Quentin is so depressed by the tawdry fact of Sutpen, the Appalachian cracker, that he cannot share Shreve's enthusiasm and excitement.

Faulkner allows the distinction between known facts and myth to blur even further by identifying Quentin and Shreve's pleasure for their patched-together fable as "youth's immemorial obsession not with time's dragging weight...but with its fluidity" (*Absalom* 374). Time is, for them, a flowing stream of assorted images, not a firmly chronological narration of events. Neither Quentin nor Shreve is, at this moment, having any trouble slipping from factual truth to mythic invention, and back again. The essential difference between these two characters is that Shreve is better able than Quentin to handle the necessary synthesis of fact and myth. Quentin can tolerate the mythic picture of Sutpen as an elderly Southern patriarch who wants to beget a son, but he cannot live with the fact of Sutpen as a selfish, greedy manipulator who would abandon Milly Jones's child when he should have learned from abandoning Charles Bon. Quentin's mythopoesis of Sutpen as the founder of a great Southern dynasty must give way and be cheapened by Quentin and Shreve's factual picture of him as a man who would divide his own family against itself so that it could not stand, the "demon" of Miss Rosa's bitter tale.

Faulkner lulls his reader into forgetting the ideological differences between Shreve and Quentin while they collaborate on expanding the factual history of Henry, Judith, and Charles. Shreve invents long passages of explication for the Sutpen history, and Quentin passively assists. Then, suddenly, Shreve emphasizes the dissimilarities between himself and his roommate; he deliberately talks of physical experiences

that Quentin has not had. Shreve discusses, in worldly terms, Charles Bon's agony of indecision over whether or not to have an incestuous relationship with Judith. He asks, seemingly in a rhetorical way, " 'who to say if it wasn't maybe the possibility of incest, because who (without a sister: I don't know about the others) has been in love and not discovered the vain evanescence of the fleshly encounter' " (*Absalom* 404). The point, though, is precisely that Shreve takes for granted that Quentin has had the same experience as he. Quentin has not. He does have a sister, a sister with whom he is quite close, in a possibly incestuous way. He also has not been in love, has never had a physical relationship, and so cannot have discovered the impermanence of a solely sexual experience. He and Shreve are then sharply different when it comes to actual experience. Quentin still lives in a world of fantasy and myth. Shreve, while savoring his brief adventure into the archetypal Southern mythos, still holds firmly to his empirical investigations into history.

Quentin does not participate in either one of Shreve's scenarios, neither the one about Charles Bon and his sexual frustration in his relationship with Judith nor the one more directly concerned with Quentin's own innocence. Shreve even stops himself and gives Quentin plenty of time to respond: "he could have been interrupted easily now" (404). Quentin sits passively, though, withdrawing emotionally and almost physically from the immediacy of Shreve's speculation—"his shoulders hugged inward and hunched, his face lowered and he looking somehow curiously smaller than he actually was" (405). Quentin clearly likes his myths distant and unquestioned. As he and his roommate analyze the Sutpen story, and separate fictional myth from sordid reality, Quentin becomes increasingly more removed from historiographic creation. By his unprotesting silence, he allows Shreve to invent new myths to fit in with historic facts. Shreve, for instance, decides that it was really Henry, not Bon, who was injured in the War. Shreve takes this newly-manipulated fact and creates around it a mythological picture of the heroic, wounded Henry struggling out of Bon's arms and begging to be allowed to die. Quentin remains sitting impassively, "the morose and delicate offspring of rain and steamy heat" (432) transplanted into cold and foreign Northern soil.

After Shreve and Quentin have finished their synthesis of the scanty facts about Henry and Charles with the scandalous myths surrounding them, the Harvard freshmen finally go to bed. Quentin and Shreve then seem to reverse roles; Quentin now supplies the facts. He mentions that Bon and Henry were in the tenth graduating class of the

University of Mississippi. Quentin also corrects Shreve about the name of the Civil War battle in which Pickett's charge took place. Quentin's purpose in carefully preserving these facts is not what Shreve's would have been, however. He wants a person standing outside the mythos to think it old-fashioned and aristocratic that Bon and Henry were gentlemen enough to be admitted to one of the first classes at the University of Mississippi. He wants that same stranger to realize, too, that Pickett's charge, which took place on the battlefield at Gettysburg, is part of the fable of the South and thus bred into the consciousness of successive generations of young Southerners who need their glorious military myths to make bearable the crushing fact of historic defeats.

Quentin and Shreve end their version of the story with a mythic blending of factually separated consciousnesses. Shreve halts his narration of Miss Rosa's attempt to save Henry with the chiming of the one o'clock bells. Quentin picks up the narrative, *mentally* detailing the fire and Bond's howling. Shreve concludes by saying aloud, " 'And so it was the Aunt Rosa that came back to town inside the ambulance' " (468). The men have successfully incorporated fact and fiction into a single, likely history of what may have happened to the Sutpen dynasty. If *Absalom, Absalom!* had ended here, one could legitimately argue that Quentin, however reluctantly, is made to see the wisdom of combining new myth and historic fact with old Southern myth to create an accurate tale. The novel does not, though, end here.

On the final page of the book, Shreve offers Quentin a brief sketch of a new myth and the manner in which it could begin. He suggests that " 'in time the Jim Bonds are going to conquer the western hemisphere...and...as they spread toward the poles they will bleach out again like the rabbits and the birds do, so they wont show up sharp against the snow. But it will still be Jim Bond; and so in a few thousand years, I who regard you will also have sprung from the loins of African kings' " (471). This short, seemingly innocuous tale is truly a new myth in the making; it suggests a brave new world of anthropology and genetic selection in which the African race will become dominant and the center of Western thought. Shreve embraces the power of his mythmaking and remains unconcerned that he might have to jettison the truth to tell a good story. He is strong enough to accept the complex, often contradictory relationship between myth and history. Quentin, on the other hand, does not even allow this new myth to reach his consciousness. He is too busy protesting that he does not hate the South and thus all the myths of which it is made.

Quentin sees Sutpen as the exploded archetype of the Southern gentleman; he is not ready to see Jim Bond as the new archetype of the universal man. Quentin Compson is, then, left without any myth in which to believe strongly and without any certainty that history is really based on fact. Overwhelmed by Shreve's alarming and ambiguous admixture of myth and history, Quentin can only manage to lie in the darkness and shiver.

From the beginning of the second section of *The Sound and the Fury*, the reader sees Quentin now struggling alone to merge the myths of the South with the facts of his life. Quentin, here, is much less successful than in *Absalom, Absalom!*, in part because he does not have Shreve's ready assistance. As part of a continual internal monologue, Quentin tells himself, "In the South you are ashamed of being a virgin. Boys. Men. They lie about it" (*Sound* 89). He, though, cannot lie about this physical fact. His psychological inability to lie separates him from the boys and men of the South (and from Shreve too) who have no qualms about changing their personal histories to fit or to expand the myth. Quentin will not invent a mythic state of virility for himself despite his absolute desperation for some kind of fiction better than his depressing reality. This quotation offers only one example of Quentin's frantic need to discover some personal solace in the myth of the Southern gentleman.

Running through Quentin's mind are constant litanies of how Southern gentlemen ought to behave. Quentin's behavior never quite matches the myth, and he always feels inferior and psychologically isolated for acting outside the constraints of tradition. Quentin thinks, in the middle of preparing his toilette, that "*Father said it used to be a gentleman was known by his books; nowadays he is known by the ones he has not returned*" (*Sound* 92). He senses that his father would place him in the "nowadays" category of ungentlemanly behavior, so he obsessively settles his personal effects before he kills himself.

Gerald Bland is just as much a misfit in the tradition of Southern male gentility as Compson. While Quentin at least has a father who will lecture on the subject of Southern values, however drunkenly and cynically, Gerald has only his mother, a social-climbing "bitch." Mrs. Bland adopts the English persona of flannel-suited, Oxford rower for her son to supplement the disintegrating example of the antebellum Kentuckian. Quentin acknowledges to himself that "[Mrs. Bland] approved of Gerald associating with me because I *at least* revealed a *blundering* sense of noblesse oblige by *getting myself born* below Mason and Dixon" (104 emphasis mine). Faulkner expects the reader

to understand the irony of Quentin's thought: he has had, as usual, no control over his own place within the myth. Mrs. Bland accepts him for the fabled Southern gentleman he must surely exemplify; he does not at all, except by accident of birth. Quentin is the opposite of Thomas Sutpen, a man from outside the tradition who wants nothing more than to buy into its entire mythos.

Quentin does engage in some narrative reconstruction of the workings of Mrs. Bland's mind, but this recreation is on a much smaller scale than his and Shreve's efforts in *Absalom, Absalom!*. He mentally reconstructs Mrs. Bland's feelings towards Spoade's impressive family connections: "I'm sure she solaced herself by being convinced that some misfit Maingault or Mortemar had got mixed up with the lodge-keeper's daughter" (104). But this is more idle speculation than the intensive analysis of a family's history he and Shreve engage in over the Sutpens' mysterious past. Quentin's interest in Mrs. Bland is anecdotal and brief, and it forms a strong contrast to the complex debates he and Shreve engage in in *Absalom, Absalom!* over the questions of incest and miscegenation.

Faulkner raises the issue of incest throughout *The Sound and the Fury*, but not the taboo of miscegenation. Quentin's relationship with his sister Caddy, with all its nuances of forbidden love and outraged jealousy, is not the main focus of this paper. But certainly, Quentin would dearly love to reconstruct the fact of Caddy's loss of virginity into the myth of pure Southern womanhood. With that end in view, he asks Caddy of her first sexual encounter: "did he make you then he made you do it let him he was stronger than you" (173). The reader sees immediately, in Quentin's shift from the interrogative present tense "make" to the declarative fact of the past tense "made" that he is editing and reconstructing as he talks to her. Quentin begs Caddy to show herself to be a victimized Southern belle of mythic gentility rather than a genuinely sexual woman. Quentin reconstructs, too, the voice of the verb in his narration of Caddy's experience; he changes the active "he made you do it" to the passive "[he made you] let him." Unlike Shreve in *Absalom, Absalom!*, however, Caddy does not join Quentin in his fabrications. She knows that she was not forced to have sex. Quentin can neither rescue her nor turn to Shreve for help in this agonizing and private reconstruction puzzle. All Quentin can do is withdraw still deeper into his own psychosis and use his time idly rewriting myths less personally important to him.

He experiments, for instance, with linking himself to his father and to the manners of the bygone South; "Father and I protect women from

one another from themselves our women" (*Sound* 110). Quentin wants to assume the paternalistic, proprietary air of a Southern patriarch. He fails. Caddy is certainly not his woman. She owes no filial duty to him. His mother, Caroline Bascomb Compson, needs to be protected, or, at least, wants to appear so defenseless that she must be protected, but Candace does not. Caddy continually rejects Quentin's attempts to whitewash her behavior, so that, while Quentin may liken himself to his father as a protector of the female sex, he is actually impotent at his task.

Throughout the second section of *The Sound and the Fury*, Quentin constantly mimics the mythos of the gentleman of the South. When Quentin confronts Herbert Head about cheating at Harvard, Head correctly recognizes that their conversation is like that of a play: "We're better than a play you must have made the Dramat" (124). Head means that Quentin's responses sound false, stylized, and probably memorized. When Head suggests that Quentin had possibly been fortunate enough to cheat and to go undetected, Quentin answers "You lie" and "I dont know but one way to consider cheating" (124). The syntax of his "I dont know but one way," rather than the more usual "I only know one way," sounds Southern in dialect, and the "You lie" sounds like the quintessential response of the easily insulted Southern man of rank. But Quentin is just playing a role. He saves his desperate, real importunity for Caddy, begging her not to marry the oily scoundrel Head. Quentin's actual dialogue with Herbert Head is as ineffectual as all his mental reconstructions.

Quentin again mimics Southern aristocratic behavior, this time more successfully, when he verbally manipulates the woman in the bakery shop. He first characterizes her as a witchy schoolmistress; "She just needed a bunch of switches, a blackboard behind her 2 x 2 e 5" (144). He manages, though, to get her to change her attitude toward the little Italian girl by exerting his practiced Southern flattery: " 'Yessum...I expect your cooking smells as good to her as it does to me' " (145). Faulkner wants the reader to notice Quentin's facile charm; his "Yessum" is the slurred, soft response of the subservient plantation slave. Just as in the Herbert Head example above, however, Quentin is not satisfied with the superficiality of rote Southern manners.

No matter how hard Quentin tries to find depth behind the myth of Southern gentility and no matter how much he strives to create his own, more satisfactory mythic system, he cannot forget his Southern roots. Significantly, in Quentin's last mental soliloquy on his father

just before his suicide, he recalls Jason's compulsive reminder that "for you to go to harvard has been your mothers dream since you were born and no compson has ever disappointed a lady" (*Sound* 204). Jason's statement calls for Quentin to perform his familial and Southern duty, not to show his personal love. And Quentin does not disappoint his mother; he finishes the academic year before he kills himself. Faulkner leaves his reader wondering if Caroline Compson would not have much preferred, anyway, that her beloved son Jason attend Harvard on Benjy's pasture money rather than her eldest son and the Compson heir-apparent.

Quentin also finds an innate contradiction between the fact of the relationship between black and white people and the myth of this racial connection. His racial confusions are further intensified by the fact that he moves from the deep South to New England and still encounters racial inequality. But since the issue of color is not as vital to Quentin as the idea of mythic Southern gentility, he allows himself to joke with Shreve about it. They talk about Deacon, the black man who meets the Southern boys coming North. Shreve says " 'There now. Just look at what your grandpa did to that poor old nigger' " (*Sound* 94). Quentin answers " 'Yes...Now he can spend day after day marching in parades. If it hadn't been for my grandfather, he'd have to work like whitefolks' " (94). The two men thoughtlessly perpetuate the myth of the lazy "nigger." The blacks, themselves, do not receive any acknowledgement that it is their right to be free; rather, Shreve and Quentin insist upon praising the whites who set the blacks free. Deacon, to them, is the epitome of the crafty freedman. Quentin and Shreve will not look beyond the Southern myth forced upon an entire race to the pathetic fact of one man's life. Actually, Deacon is a poor old man who earns his living by playing up to spoiled rich boys whose parents have sent them to Harvard. Quentin confines his vision of Deacon to the generalized myth of an entire race; he cannot allow himself to extrapolate enough to see Deacon individually.

Deacon, like Quentin himself though on a much smaller scale, is forced to try to create his own personal myth because he is trapped so solidly inside a stereotype. Quentin tells the reader just how both Southerners and Northerners label Deacon; he is a man who "could pick out a Southerner with one glance....He had a regular uniform he met trains in, a sort of Uncle Tom's cabin outfit, patches and all" (110-11). He is accepted as a crafty yet lovable old "nigger," and one of the reasons he wears his "Uncle Tom's cabin outfit" is that his patrons expect it. Yet, Deacon wants to find something of himself behind the

fable, so he ingeniously subverts the myth: the boy he hires to carry luggage for him is *white*. Deacon becomes a master instead of a slave; he calls for his servant, "Whereupon a moving mountain of luggage would edge up, revealing a white boy of about fifteen, and the Deacon would hang another bag on him somehow and drive him off" (111). Deacon, in the myth-turned-fact of his own creation, becomes the *slavedriver*. His vision is more courageous than Quentin's in *The Sound and the Fury*, and he continues to show the creative spirit of the feverishly reconstructing Quentin and Shreve in *Absalom, Absalom!* when he perpetuates and comes to believe as "incontrovertible fact" his own mythic fiction: "Someone spread the story years ago, when he first appeared...that he was a graduate of the divinity school....[Deacon] was so taken with it that he began to retail the story himself, until at last he must have come to believe he really had" (*Sound* 111).

Throughout *The Sound and the Fury*, Quentin never achieves even the limited satisfaction in mythic recreation that he does in *Absalom, Absalom!* or, indeed, that Deacon finds in his small section of *The Sound and the Fury*. Quentin does manage, however, to dredge up some nostalgia for the picture of the black man patient in his timeless slavery. Returning to Mississippi for Christmas, Quentin sees "a nigger on a mule in the middle of the stiff ruts, waiting for the train to move...like a sign put there saying You are home again" (98). He notices "that quality about them of shabby and timeless patience, of static serenity" (99). Quentin enjoys this traditional mythic view of the black race, the stasis of the people. Timelessness is what he wants in his relationship with Caddy; it is what he treasures in his rapport with Dilsey and Roskus. Quentin does not, however, understand that, while myths can be frozen in time, factual realities cannot. Faulkner's creation of Dilsey as an endlessly nurturing, mythic earth mother can endure for Quentin while his own fantasy of a virginal Caddy must eventually give way to the visual proof of her pregnancy.

Another myth that briefly informs Quentin's consciousness in *The Sound and the Fury* is the fable of the Old West. This myth is best demonstrated by analyzing the Dalton Ames-Quentin Compson confrontation. Ames presents Compson with a wrenching "incontrovertible fact"; he tells Quentin that Caddy would have lost her virginity to someone: "its not your fault kid it would have been some other fellow" (183). Quentin cannot bear this stark truth. He would rather deal with a softened, romanticized myth, so he repeatedly threatens Ames—"Ill give you until sundown to leave town" (183)—thus attempting to become the Western lawman, a mythic figure

famous for controlling his own destiny as well as that of others. Ames, to Quentin's enormous surprise, answers him in kind; he demonstrates his marksmanship by shooting at pieces of bark in the water and then "[swinging] the cylinder out and [blowing] into the barrel" (184) of his pistol. Quentin fails, once again, to find a viable role for himself in a workable, social myth.

The major difference between Quentin's mythologizing in *Absalom, Absalom!* and *The Sound and the Fury* is that in *The Sound and the Fury* he does it in almost complete isolation. A few times in the second section of the novel, Shreve particularly desires to assist his roommate, but Quentin wants to brood alone. Shreve, Gerald, and Spoade try to help Quentin reconstruct what he has or has not done with the Italian girl though they, in truth, do not know. Julio shouts indignantly at the Squire, " 'Dont I see weetha my own eyes—,' " and Shreve immediately replies, " 'You're a liar...You never—' " (164). Shreve's gentlemanly, though circumstantial, assistance does not help. What does work is Spoade's country charm. In order to get Quentin released, Spoade de-mythologizes the Harvard student: " 'He's just a country boy in school up there...His father's a congregational minister' " (164), and, in a description that echoes strangely of the mythological Pied Piper, " 'Children and dogs are always taking up with him like that' " (165). The Squire releases Quentin. The reader must realize, though, that Quentin has no pleasantly escapist myths left.

Shreve tries one final time to mould the hard facts into a myth of Quentin's choosing. While Shreve is helping Quentin tend to his bloody eye, Quentin asks if he managed to hit Gerald even once. Shreve answers, " 'You may have hit him. I may have looked away just then or blinked or something. He boxed the hell out of you' " (*Sound* 188). The third sentence of Shreve's answer is the one true fact. But Shreve is willing to mould the facts so Quentin can make himself feel happier. Shreve eagerly suspends his disbelief, giving Quentin plenty of room to do any embroidering or mythologizing he would like. Quentin does not, however, take up Shreve's offer, the way he regularly does in *Absalom, Absalom!*. He is so weighed down psychologically by the force of a life full of "incontrovertible fact" that all he can think about is weighing his own life down, with the aid of a pair of six-pound flat-irons.

In *Absalom, Absalom!* and *The Sound and the Fury*, Faulkner creates a complex portrait of Quentin Compson's deepening psychosis. While Shreve is there to assist in recreating the Sutpen narrative, the

reader may be distracted from fully comprehending Quentin's emotional and intellectual paralysis. But when he strikes out on his own in *The Sound and the Fury*, Quentin's utter inability to reconcile myth with history becomes painfully apparent. Quentin cannot survive in a world filled with ambiguities, but he also cannot resist the impulse to attempt to fictionalize each "incontrovertible fact." Ultimately, then, Quentin has no place in a world in which even the potent new Jim Bond myth may be possible.

NOTES

¹ See Patrick McGee, "Gender and Generation in Faulkner's "The Bear," *Faulkner Journal* 1 (1985), 46-54. All subsequent references to this source are cited in the text. I am indebted to Professor John T. Matthews for recommending McGee's useful and interesting article.

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ONOMASTICS IN *THE SCARLET LETTER*

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Nathaniel Hawthorne's portrait of a fallen minister and an adultress, who refused to tell the name of the father of her child, features a plot ingeniously constructed around the mysterious scarlet letter "A." Undoubtedly, the precise title sets the tone of this opus. In the most literal meaning, the noun "letter" incorporates "A," the first letter of the alphabet, as well as the generally accepted written communication form—here, a prefatory letter very skillfully embodied in "The Custom-House" chapter. My aim in this paper is to determine if the title serves as the master key enabling us to decipher the connection between the title and the names of the main characters.

Traced back to the Greeks, "scarlet" refers to a mark left by the healing of a burn. The verb "scarify" stands for a small incision for drawing blood. "Scarlet" also alludes to whorish behavior marking a woman who has committed adultery. From an onomastics point of view, it is also an epithet, a nickname, perhaps used invectively here.

Some claim that "A" stands for "Alpha," for the conceit of sin, for "adultery," and for "abomination." Martin implies that "A" might mean "able," or even "angel." He also assumes that it might represent "Arthur," here obviously alluding to the first name of the minister.¹ Manley states that it stands for "admirable," "adultress," or "alienation."² Mellon claims that it might also refer to "art."³ For Schubert, the scarlet letter "A," mentioned nearly a hundred and fifty times throughout the romance, becomes the intricately interwoven leitmotif of the narrative.⁴

A detailed analysis of the name "Prynne" reveals that it is constructed of two lexical elements: "pry" and "nee." The noun "pry" derives from the corrupted French "prize," meaning a "lever" with which things can be extracted. The intransitive verb "pry" (M.E. *prien*) refers to an inquisitive person who seeks the truth. The adjective "nee" is commonly placed after the name of a married woman to introduce her maiden name. Thus, Hester's family name embodies the essential core of the romance. Prynne, depicted here as a secretly married woman but also as a symbolic "lever," enabling us to "extract" the truth.

However, the two historical models after which Hawthorne might have coined the title and the name of his heroine are perhaps of even greater importance. Kirby's biographical study of William Prynne (1600-1699) reveals that because of his activities as a Puritan

pamphleteer, he was imprisoned, shorn of his ears, and had to appear three times in the pillory. Moreover, "he was stigmatized in the cheeks with two letters 'S' and 'L' for 'Seditious Libeler.'" ⁵ It should be noted that "S" and "L" are the very initials of Hawthorne's title. Furthermore, Hawthorne's notebook of 1844 refers to an adultress who, by the old colony law, was condemned to wear the letter "A" on her garment. ⁶

"Hester" is constructed of two elements, too. "Hest" is of Anglo-Saxon origin, meaning "to command." Its archaic form is "behest." In early English law it also meant "pledge," or "guaranty." The suffix "-er," as in teacher or master, simply denotes a person. Here, it probably reinforces Hester's heroic strength: ultimately, she is in "command" of Arthur's fate. Waggoner sees in Hester's name a variation of Esther, the biblical heroine of the Old Testament, gifted with beauty, strength, and dignity. ⁷ Throughout the romance, Hawthorne adorns Hester with real beauty and lets her gleam like sunshine in this otherwise gloomy environment.

Arthur Dimmesdale, the secret lover, and Roger Chillingworth, his rival and the secret husband of Hester, are perhaps the most transparently coined charactonyms of the romance. We deal here again with names constructed of two elements. "Dimmest" is the superlative that identifies the utmost degree of "dim." With this adjective Hawthorne describes the fallen clergyman's excessive character in a most striking, succinct manner. Lexically, "dim" alludes to dark, invisible, and murky. A second meaning of "dim" shows a manifold structure; it ranges from dubious, concealed, inconspicuous, weak, and ambiguous to mysterious, just to mention a few. All these characteristics would hold, particularly since Hawthorne attributes this tormented protagonist with "pale," "dark," and "dying" eyes. However, Dimmesdale could perhaps be best characterized as the "dimmer" of the narrative. That is, concealing his own sin, his incandescent light of life can be observed to flicker away.

"Dale" (A.S. *dael*) is merely a poetic expression of "val," meaning "valley," "depression," or "hollow" between hills. Outwardly, Dimmesdale is the perfect priest, the admired height of righteousness. Inwardly, however, his soul is hollow. Whereas Hester has accepted society's judgment and atones for her action, Arthur cannot redeem himself. On the contrary, he sinks even deeper into his own "dale" of darkness.

To counterbalance this despondent expression of dimness and to emphasize the amorous disposition, Hawthorne carefully selected "Arthur" as the most appropriate first name of the lover. Arthur,

assumed to be of Celtic origin, meaning “high” or “noble,” is usually connected with the name of the legendary king, as well as with the medieval knight. But in myriads of romances Arthur is primarily associated with chivalry. It must be stressed here that Hawthorne called himself a “romancer” and subtitled *The Scarlet Letter* “a romance.” Thus, no more fitting a name (encompassed also in the initial “A”) could have been chosen for the leading male character, torn between the ideal and the real world.

There is little disagreement about whether Chillingworth’s name is an advantage or disadvantage to the story. Here again, two lexical elements make up the name: “chill”(ing) and “worth.” As “chill” implies a physical state without warmth, so this character shows a numbed and a hardened attitude toward the minister’s hypocrisy and seemingly indifferent coolness. Possessed by a self-destructive quest, Chillingworth seeks revenge, whatever the price, the “worth” to be paid. He undergoes a metamorphosis by turning from an herb and plant specialist into a mad scientist, a monster, an evil sorcerer. Unable to forgive and to love, Chillingworth, the vengeful rival, develops into a cold-hearted oppressor measuring in cold blood the merit of the minister’s worthiness.

“Worth” (A.S. weart, wurth), here in the strictest sense of the word, appraises the value, the “worth” of the sin without the slightest trace of human compassion. “Chilling” also alludes to “killing,” stressed as an act of process by the suffix “-ing,” stretched over a purgatory of seven years, slowly scarifying and depleting Arthur toward a state of death. Moreover, the implied allusion to M.E. “wort,” meaning herb, root, or plant, cannot be overlooked. An expert herbalist and believer in botanical drugs, Chillingworth, indeed, does know the potency of drugs and their killing power.

“Roger” is another appropriate first name, precisely fitting the mold of the story. As already mentioned, Arthur is a name that occurs frequently in romances. Roger, too, is a famous name in ancient sagas; perhaps the best known is the hero of the *Nibelungenlied*. Roger is the Romanic form of Ruediger and can be traced back to the Old High German “hroud” (Ruhm), meaning “fame.” The German “ger” can be translated as “spear” or “lance.” In *The Scarlet Letter*, it is Chillingworth who, figuratively speaking, scarifies Arthur’s heart with his lance.

No other name could have been better chosen than “pearl” to encompass the professedly purer moral code and simpler form of puritanical worship. Waggoner notes that Pearl perhaps gets her name from the “pearl of great price” used in St. Matthew, suggesting the

incomparable value of the hope of heaven.⁸ Indeed, Hawthorne calls her “worthy of Eden.” Etymologically her name can be traced back to the Greek word “margaritas” (O.F. perle), meaning “pearl” or “precious.” She is, in fact, the most precious gem of the narrative; for “pearl” also denotes a highly lustrous concretion formed within the shells of mollusks. Pearl, as the younger heroine, entrusted with peculiar insight, mollifies the harshness of the New England society enforced upon her parents, and mitigates the chilling atmosphere created by the scientist. Pearl, as a Goethean “Urkind,” is able to hear the murmur of eternal life. Feidelson calls her the “prelapsarian child of Adam; a throwback to Eden before the fall.”⁹

Needless to say, “pearl” alludes also to “purl,” and as a stitching device that is of great significance to the story. It emphasizes the fancifully embroidered scarlet letter “A” as well as the elaborately ornamented needlework in Pearl’s dresses. Baym correctly sees in Pearl the embodiment of Hester’s sin—a variant of the embroidered scarlet letter.¹⁰ To emphasize her identity, Hawthorne dresses her carefully “in a crimson velvet tunic, of a peculiar cut, abundantly embroidered with fantasies and flourishes of gold thread....It was the scarlet letter in another form, the scarlet endowed with life!” But “purl” also means a clean swirling stream freely purling among dim valleys and sunny hills. Free of the social stigma, Pearl is the gentle murmur of a pure-water stream glowing in a free manner among man-made moral obstructions. Finally, Pearl is described by Hawthorne as “the living hieroglyphic of the sin,” containing all the obscure and hidden meanings encompassed in the central symbol, the scarlet letter “A.”

In summary, Hawthorne’s nomenclature in *The Scarlet Letter* reflects an artistic as well as an authentic picture of the colonial history of the 1640s. Combined, the Anglo-Saxon names of this romance stand as witnesses to the turbulent years of a new society struggling to accommodate the hopes, dreams, and efforts of newcomers but also bound to the rigid religious moral rules of colonial ancestors. By retelling a story based on a “letter,” that is, on a document found in the Custom House, Hawthorne shows a genuine fascination with the visions and expectations of a new life by underscoring the hidden symbolic meaning embodied in the intricate story of the letter “A.” However, the artistic phenomenon of Hawthorne’s romance lies in the unique concepts of the centrally placed symbolic scarlet letter which helps to decipher the connection between the title and the charactonyms. The sinner is overtly named, yet he remains helpless.

NOTES

¹Terence Martin, *Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New York, 1965), p. 122.

²Seon Manley, *Nathaniel Hawthorne: Captain of the Imagination* (New York, 1968), pp. 131-132.

³James R. Mellow, *Nathaniel Hawthorne in His Times* (Boston, 1980), p. 306.

⁴Leland Schubert, *Hawthorne the Artist: Fine-Art Devices in Fiction* (New York, 1944), p. 142.

⁵Ethyn Williams Kirby, *William Prynne: A Study in Puritanism* (New York, 1972), p. 42.

⁶Charles Ryskamp, "The New England Sources of *The Scarlet Letter*," *AL* 31 (1959), 257-272.

⁷Hyatt H. Waggoner, *Hawthorne: A Critical Study* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), p. 145.

⁸Waggoner, p. 145.

⁹Charles Feidelson, "The Scarlet Letter," *Hawthorne Centenary Essays*, ed. Roy Harvey Pearce (Columbus, Oh., 1964), p. 74.

¹⁰Nina Baym, *The Shape of Hawthorne's Career* (Ithaca, 1976), p. 131.

MORE ANALOGUES AND RESOURCES FOR POE'S FICTION AND POEMS: A SUPPLEMENT

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Perhaps no major American writer was more engrossed in the profession of journalism than Edgar Allan Poe. Some of his best tales and poems first appeared in minor journals or newspapers. His criticisms and reviews, however, were often printed in periodicals that enjoyed wide circulation in particular regions along the Atlantic seaboard. As journalist and critic, Poe spent many hours perusing contemporary periodicals and newspapers, some of which were ephemeral; others were major publications that included quarterly reviews, monthly magazines and big-city newspapers. Most notably, Margeret Alterton, Killis Campbell, Ruth Lee Hudson, and, more recently, Thomas O. Mabbott, Burton R. Pollin, and Benjamin Franklin Fisher IV have established Poe's dependence upon a variety of journalistic publications.¹

My purpose in listing the items below is to supplement my previous study appearing in *The University of Mississippi Studies in English*, 9 n.s. (1991), 154-66. In an effort to continue my search for additional hints and evidences of Poe's use of nineteenth-century journals, reviews, and newspapers in composing his fiction and poems, I have again (as I did in my previous study) concentrated my examination on American magazines, newspapers, annuals, and gift-books.² Among others comprising this search are the *Democratic Review*, the *Knickerbocker*, the *American Monthly Magazine* [New York], the *New-York Mirror*, the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, the *North American Review*, *Alexander's Weekly Messenger*, the *Atlantic Souvenir*, and *Godey's Lady's Book*. British publications receiving special attention are the *New Monthly Magazine*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Westminster Review*, and the *Metropolitan Magazine*. I have also included one entry from Rees's *Cyclopaedia* and two from Isaac D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, two non-serial texts Poe likely used.

The annotated entries below are presented as an initial step in locating possible new sources for Poe, thereby adding to the vast resources available to him in current literature, journalistic and otherwise. I intend to provide possible evidence of additional borrowings and to specify additional background material that helps to place Poe in his cultural milieu. How Poe made use of current popular

themes in his own tales and poems bespeaks, to a degree, his methods and traits as a literary artist. Or, what he drew from news items concerned with travel or with science, not to mention from a host of other journalistic miscellanies, could be a start in understanding how Poe wrought "the singular...into the strange and mystical."

To my knowledge, none of the possible parallels or echoes has been previously cited. The immensity of Poe's scholarship, however, is obviously an acknowledged hurdle for any researcher; then my repeating a likely analogue or Poe borrowing already noted is a lurking possibility. Also, one must remember that early and mid-nineteenth-century periodicals frequently borrowed from each other, often representing an item verbatim. For example, Irving's essay "An Unwritten Drama by Lord Byron," Poe's acknowledged source of his tale "William Wilson," was printed in three contemporary publications, including *The Gift*, where Poe reports reading it.³

NOTES

¹Alterton, *Origins of Poe's Critical Theory* (1925; rpt. New York, 1965); Campbell, ed. *The Poems of Edgar Allan Poe* (1917; rpt. New York, 1962) and Campbell's *The Mind of Poe and Other Studies* (1933; rpt. New York, 1962); Hudson, "Edgar Allan Poe's Craftsmanship in the Short Story," diss., U. of Virginia, 1935; Mabbott, *Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1969-1978); Pollin, *Discoveries in Poe* (Notre Dame, 1970); Fisher, "To the 'Assigination' from 'The Visionary' and Poe's Decade of Revising," *Library Chronicle*, 39 (1973), 89-105; 40 (1976), 221-251; and "More Pieces in the Puzzle of Poe's 'The Assigination,'" *Myths and Reality: The Mysterious Mr. Poe* (Baltimore, 1987), pp. 59-88.

²I am indebted to Elizabeth Sayle Ruleman for her aid in my search of nineteenth-century journals and annuals.

³John Ward Ostrom, "Supplement to the Letters of Poe," *AL*, 24 (1952), 360-361. Identifying contributors to the early and mid-nineteenth-century American magazines and serials is a very time-consuming challenge at this point. Something comparable to five volumes of the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals 1824-1900*, ed. Walter Houghton et al. (Toronto, 1966-1989) is sorely needed. The following study, however, was helpful in compiling this checklist: Herman E. Spivey, "The Knickerbocker Magazine 1833-1865. A Study of Its History, Contents and Significance," diss. U. of North Carolina, 1936.

"The Balloon-Hoax" (1844)

"Fatal Balloon Adventure." *Knickerbocker*, 10 (Oct. 1837), 342-347.

An account of a balloon ascent from Vauxhall Gardens, during which an aeronaut was killed due to a faulty parachute.

"The Bells" (1849)

A. J. D. "Bells." *New-York Mirror*, 13 (March 1936), 300.

Bells signal a variety of life's activities and conditions, from birth to death. A poem.

Lanman, Charles. "Bells, and Their Associations." *Knickerbocker*, 15 (Feb. 1840), 152-154.

Bells announce significant events: calls to worship, fires, public celebrations, and funerals. A prose essay.

"The Domain of Arnheim" (1847)

[Clark, Lewis Gaylord.] "Editor's Table." *Knickerbocker*, 8 (Aug. 1836), 242-243.

A brief commentary on *Landscape Gardening* [by Andrew Jackson Downing?] signed G. H., arguing for a careful and studious embellishment of nature. See Mabbott, 3:1273-274. Poe's "Domain" expands his earlier story "The Landscape Garden" (1842).

"Eleonora" (1841)

"Natural Magic." *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge*, I (April 1835), 340-342.

A woman troubled by sickness hears the voice of her husband who was present elsewhere. See page 341. See Mabbott, 2: 645.

"The Fall of the House of Usher" (1839)

"Account of a Singular Atrabilarian or Hypochondria," *Curiosities of Literature* by I[saac] D'Israeli. 2 of 2 vols. 1793. New York: Garland Publishing, 1972, pp. 502-507.

Describes the "dreadful agitation" of the hypochondriac who divorces himself from reality and becomes "alarmed at everything." See Benjamin Franklin Fisher IV's "To 'The Assignation' from 'The Visionary' (Part Two): The Revisions and Related Matters," *Library Chronicle* (U. of Pa.), 40 (1976), 231, for more evidence of Poe's borrowings from the *Curiosities*.

"The Arch-Devil, Belfegor. From the Italian of Machiavelli." *New-York Mirror*, 14 (July 16, 1836), 1.

A summary of Machiavelli's novella "Belfegor: The Devil Who Married." Poe refers to "the Belphegor of Machiavelli" in "Usher," Mabbott, 2: 408. [I am indebted to Mr. David Irvin, a former student, for this item.]

Rees, Abraham. "Hypochondriasis." *The Cyclopaedia: or a New Universal Dictionary of Arts and Science*. 18 of 39 vols. London: Longman, Hurst, Brown, 1819.

Roderick Usher's condition (a "hypochondriac") may be defined as "hypochondriasis," symptoms of which include "a deranged state of the bodily health in general" and "with respect to all future events, a dread and apprehension of the world." Poe's frequent use of Rees's *Cyclopaedia* has been demonstrated. See, for example, volumes II and III of the *Collected Works of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. Thomas Ollive Mabbott (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), *passim*.

"Hans Pfaall" (1835)

D. "Leaves from an Aeronaut." *Knickerbocker*, 5 (Jan. 1835), 57-67.

See pages 65-67 for a detailed description of an aeronaut flying alone in a balloon.

"The Man of the Crowd" (1840)

"From Our London Correspondent." *New-York Mirror*, 10 (June 1833), 404-405.

The author, walking through the poverty-ridden sections of London, is dismayed by the degradation he observes.

"Mellonta Tauta" (1849)

"A Conversation." *Knickerbocker*, 2 (July 1833), 1-13.

See pages 11-13 presenting a vision of a future culture in New York City—an "unfathomable plunge into futurity" created by the "old sage"—Diedrich Knickerbocker.

"The Murders in the Rue Morgue" (1841)

[Clark, Lewis Gaylord?] "Literary Notices." *Knickerbocker*, 4 (Nov. 1834, [396]-397.

A review of *Memoirs of Vidocq. Agent of the French Police Until 1827*. Spurious memoirs that may have influenced Poe's characterization of Dupin, Poe's detective.

The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym of Nantucket (1837-38)

[Clark, Lewis Gaylord?] "Literary Notices." *Knickerbocker*, 4 (July 1834), 67-72.

A review of Joseph C. Hart's *Miriam Coffin, or the Whale-Fisherman: A Tale*. 2 vols. See page 69 for a reference to the *Grampus* and a captain's son [Isaac Coffin] who becomes a stowaway on his father's voyage from Nantucket.

"Polar Ice, and a North-West Passage." *Edinburgh Review*, 30 (July 1818), 1-59.

In a detailed review of five books (all published in 1818) devoted to the Arctic Sea, reviewer points out how the Arctic seas, through a process of congelation, become warmer to the point of boiling (pages 12-13). See Pollin's edition of *Pym*, pp. 203-204, in *Collected Writings of Edgar Allan Poe. The Imaginary Voyages*. Boston: Twayne, 1981.

"Some Words with a Mummy" (1845)

Brooks, C. T. "The Awakener in the Wilderness." From the German of Freiligrath. *Diadem* (1845), 95-96.

A talking mummy, awakened by the roar of a lion, describes his burial and subsequent presence in a pyramid. A poem.

"Sonnet—Silence" (1839-1845)

"Saint Ambrose," *Curiosities of Literature* by I[saac] D'Israeli. 2 of 2 vols. 1793. New York: Garland Publishing, 1972. pp. 178-181.

Distinguishes three sorts of death: (1) "the death which occasions sin, and murders the soul," (2) the death of sin (mystic death) and (3) separation of soul from body (natural death). The first "is the most evil"; see lines 11-15 of "Sonnet—Silence," Mabbott, 1:322. See Benjamin Franklin Fisher IV's "To 'The Assignation' from 'The Visionary' (Part Two): The Revisions and Related Matters," *Library Chronicle* (U. of Pa.), 40 (1976), 231, for more evidence of Poe's borrowings from the *Curiosities*.

"Von Kempelen and His Discovery" (1849)

A. "Alchemy." *Knickerbocker*, 6 (Dec. 1835), 521-526.

An essay on the history of Alchemy—"the power of transmuting the imperfect metals into gold." The author, however, argues that alchemy is a fake science.

A NOTE ON SHREVE MACKENZIE

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The symbolic or associative significance of the names of many of William Faulkner's characters has long been recognized. Critical Commentaries on *Light in August*, for example, are replete with references to the remoteness of Hightower, living "outside life," the fecundity of the pregnant Lena Grove, and the martyrdom of Joe Christmas (emphasis mine). In others, scholars have pointed out that "Bundren" (a north Mississippi corruption of "Bondurant"), in *As I Lay Dying*, is a near anagram of "burden," describing both the body of Addie Bundren and her husband's promise to bear it to Jefferson for burial, and that in "Barn Burning," Sarty's full name, "Colonel Sartoris Snopes," symbolizes the conflicting forces of good and evil, right and wrong, struggling for primacy within the boy's conscience.

None, however, have adequately addressed the multiple implications inherent in the name "Shreve" (an archaic spelling of "shrive"), Quentin Compson's Harvard roommate in both *The Sound and the Fury* and *Absalom, Absalom!* Among the definitions of the word given in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, several appear to be significant when applied to Shreve and, by extension, to Quentin. A number of them serve to define the respective roles played by the two men in their long dialogue about the South as well as the relationship that exists between them. One definition, "to question, examine (a person)," suggests Shreve's initial function as questioner: "Tell about the South. What's it like there. What do they do there. Why do they live there. Why do they live at all." That Shreve's role becomes one of priest or "Father Confessor" is indicated by such definitions as "to relieve (one) of a burden" and "to administer absolution; to hear the confession of." Quentin's relationship to Shreve thus becomes that of penitent seeking absolution, as is implied by the reflexive "to make one's confession, to go to confession, to confess." Finally, two definitions, "to renounce" and "to reconcile (a person) to a course of action," apply to Quentin alone, foreshadowing his ultimate decision to take his own life.